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MID-AMERICA

An Historical Quarterly

VOLUME XXX
(New Series, Volume XIX)
1948

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THE INSTITUTE OF JESUIT HISTORY
LOYOLA UNIVERSITY
CHICAGO

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MID-AMERICA

An Historical Review

VOLUME 30, NUMBER 1 **JANUARY 1948**

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Published quarterly by Loyola University (The Institute of Jesuit History) at 50 cents a copy. Annual subscription, $2.00; in foreign countries, $2.50. Publication and editorial offices at Loyola University, 6525 Sheridan Road, Chicago, Illinois. All communications should be addressed to the Managing Editor. Entered as second class matter, August 7, 1929, at the post office at Chicago, Illinois, under the Act of March 3, 1879. Additional entry as second class matter at the post office at Effingham, Illinois. Printed in the United States.

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VOLUME 30 NEW SERIES, VOLUME 19 NUMBER 1

Rogel, Padre of the Ports

Preparing the Way

Pamplona is a little Spanish town in the Pyrennes of Navarre, about thirty miles from the French border. It was once a bulwark against the Moslem advance in the early years of the Eighth Century. A rallying point for the Christian reconquest of Spain it nurtured a freedom-loving people who from the eighth century maintained all the ruggedness of their mountain forebears in the various wars and incursions of the long centuries. In 1521 Pamplona was the scene of a battle between French and Spanish troops wherein Ignatius Loyola fell wounded and thereafter decided to forsake the world and establish his Company of Jesus.

Midway between the battle and the foundation of the Jesuits in 1540, a baby boy was born in 1529 into the Rogel family of Pamplona.[1] He was named Juan, heir to no titles but to the Navarrese traditions of valor, labor, cheerfulness, and Christian spirit. This boy was destined to take a small place in the history of North America for his work among the Florida Indians, but his fame for generations rested more properly upon the love of his fellow-man for which he was known during many years of his parochial labors in Spain, in Havana, and in Vera Cruz.

No biographer tells us of Juan's early years and schooling or about his weight, height and features. He was prepared, however, in the schools of his home town for university training by the time he was in his eighteenth year. Then, in 1547, he enrolled himself at the University of Alcalá.[2] Presumably, there was no fanfare inasmuch as there were 1,938 other students doing likewise that year.[3] Alcalá, with professorial chairs numbering forty-two, was the leading university of Spain in scientific studies as well as in humanities. Rogel became part of the Spanish intellectual life in the golden age of its literature and arts.

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[1] The Mexican Province Catalogues from 1576 indicate 1529 as the year of his birth. In 1576 his age is given as 47. Félix Zubillaga, S.J., *La Florida, La Misión Jesuítica (1566-1572) y La Colonización Española*, Rome, 1941?, 231, deduces the same from a questionnaire response of Rogel's.

After four years studies in the classics and philosophy had gained for him his licentiate, Juan Rogel turned his attention to the field of medicine. He began his studies at Alcalá, but transferred to Valencia where he could obtain special training in anatomy. Within this old walled city of the Romans on the eastern coast of Spain his dream of becoming a physician merged into one that became increasingly more engrossing. He felt himself called to be a physician of souls. He became friendly with one Father Lucio Crucio, a Jesuit stationed in Valencia, whose way of life appealed strongly to him.[4] Rogel, the medic, toward the end of his six years of higher studies resolved to enter religion. Having been accepted as a candidate of the Company of Jesus he appeared at the door of the Jesuit College of Valencia and was received on April 16, 1554, by the rector, Father Bautista Parma. Juan Rogel, novice, was then twenty-five.[5] When he crossed this threshold, he was at the beginning of sixty-five years of difficult work as a religious.

A novitiate for the training of young Jesuits had been established at Valencia for the Jesuit Province of Andalucía. Late in 1554 Ignatius Loyola, General of the Jesuits, had divided Spain for administrative reasons into three provinces, Castile, Aragon, and Andalucía, and over them and the Province of Portugal, he had placed as commissioner Father Francis Borgia, former Duke of Gandía. Rogel spent only four months as a novice before pronouncing his first vows of religion,[6] very probably on August 15. Since this was an unusually short period, we may assume that his superiors considered him quite mature and of a singularly strong religious character. During this time he became attracted to the foreign missions and told Francis Borgia of his desire to go to India.

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[2] The Mexican Province Catalogues state that Rogel had four years of philosophy and four of medicine before his entrance into the Company; but the catalogue for 1576 gives his entrance date as 1564 instead of 1554, and that of 1580 gives it as 1556; Zubillaga, *La Florida,* 232, settles the date of his entrance as 1554, and says Rogel had spent six and a half years in philosophy and medicine.

[3] Charles E. Chapman, *A History of Spain,* New York, 1930, 340, 230.

[4] See his letter given below.

[5] Zubillaga, *La Florida,* 232. The Mexican Province Catalogue for 1850 says that he entered the Company at Alcalá in 1556 and took his first vows in 1558.

[6] Zubillaga, *La Florida,* 232.

Having pledged himself by his vows as a member of the Company of Jesus, Rogel was sent to the house of studies at Gandía to prepare himself for the priesthood. Again his time for the study of philosophy and theology was cut to a minimum. Instead of five or more years in the lecture halls he spent but a year and a half, and this time chiefly learning theology.[7] This abbreviated curriculum may have been arranged because he had already obtained his degree in the classics and philosophy, and because, probably, there was then a possibility of his going to the missions where an elaborate educational preparation was not so necessary. At the end of his courses, probably in January, 1556, he was ordained to the priesthood, a great event in the life of one with so spiritual an outlook as Rogel seems to have had. On July 31 of that year Ignatius Loyola died in Rome, leaving the administration of the Order, then numbering 1,000, to Diego Laínez who was Vicar-General for the next two years.

With Rogel during these two years was Pedro Martínez, his companion on the journey to the New World ten years later. Martínez had entered the Company a year before Rogel, but was not ordained until April 19, 1558. Fellow workers for the first time, the two were sent in the early part of 1556 to conduct various Lenten services in Denia, a thriving seaport town of eastern Spain on the Mediterranean sixty miles down the coast from Valencia. Here Martínez carried the main burden of preaching while Rogel spent hours in the confessional. Between them they induced many to frequent the sacraments and brought about a general spiritual revival. Many enemies were reconciled, small and teen age children were instructed, adults were given advice in consultations, and so loudly did the pair inveigh against swearing, cheating, blasphemy, bad books and indecent dances, that the governor of Denia issued edicts for a reform starting with the public burning of bad books in the plaza.[8]

After these efforts Rogel and Martínez returned to Gandía. Then they were separated when Rogel was sent back to act as a parish priest in Denia. At this port he undoubtedly came into contact with many sailors, thus getting a sympathetic understanding of their life. The experience served him well later in Vera Cruz, New Spain. How long, precisely, Father Rogel remained in Denia cannot be stated, but at the beginning of 1559 we find him one of three Jesuits caring for a church in Cuenca.[9] His duties, besides those of assisting the pastor, were those of a superintendent and procurator. He held this post for a year before being transferred to Toledo for similar work. Here his desire to serve in the foreign missions grew more and more intense. He pestered his superiors in Spain, the provincial of Portugal, Francis Borgia, and finally the new general, Laínez, for permission to be off somewhere in the Spanish or Portuguese colonies, in many of which, excepting North America, his brothers were evangelizing the natives.

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[7] *Ibid.*, for this and the following.

[8] *Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu* (*MHSI*), *Lit. Quadrimestres*, IV., 178.

In a letter to Laínez, Father Rogel reveals all his longing to go to India and presents a remarkably frank estimate of his own ability. To the General of the Jesuits, Father James Laínez, he wrote:

> Our very Reverend Father In Christ: Pax Christi.
>
> Because I have understood that Your Paternity is happy to know when the Lord communicates any desire for the Indies to some particular subject, I have set myself to write this in order to tell Your Paternity that from the very moment I entered the Company the Lord has given me such desires, and I have written about them to Father Francisco [Borgia], and they tell me that already His Reverence has me in mind for the Indies of Spain. And now I turn to write to Your Paternity so as to express on my part that which is in me and satisfy myself in the matter.
>
> What urges me to this desire seems to me to be a wish to suffer what God wills, unless I am deceived or am bringing myself to do my own will. Such talent as I have is certainly not sufficient for such an enterprise, since it is very little; but it consoles me much to know that God "selects the weak and contemptible of this world to confound the mighty."
>
> My service until now in the Company has consisted of hearing confessions and teaching the Christian doctrine. I have no talent for preaching, for I stutter and have very little learning for it, since before I entered the Company I studied medicine, and after my entrance I have studied very little theology.
>
> I give this account to Your Paternity [to indicate] that if perchance I am destined for it [India] and if Your Paternity decides in the Lord that I go, "Behold, I am ready!" It is well that Your Paternity should know another particular also, namely, that I am in good bodily health, glory to God, and I have borne well until now the labor of being in the confessional, even all day long and many days one after another. And if Your Paternity should wish to inquire more in particular about me, Father Lucio Crucio knows me from Gandía and Valencia, from before I entered the Company and after.
>
> Another kindness and privilege I want to ask of Your Paternity for

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[9] Zubillaga, 233.

> myself and for another Father, also a medic, who lives in this house and who is named Juan Segura, and it is the privilege that Your Paternity grants to some fathers of the Company to save from Purgatory one soul with each Mass they say, even though they do not apply the Mass to that soul. I well know that I deserve no such kindness, but confidence in the charity and benignity of Your Paternity has led me to ask it. And because I have nothing else to write, I stop. May our Lord grant Your Paternity His divine love and grace to know and comply with His divine will in all things and in increasing in Your Paternity His divine gifts, as all your sons and I, the least of all, desire. From Toledo, August 20, 1560.
>
> From Your Paternity's most unworthy son and servant in the Lord.
>
> JUAN ROGEL[10]

By a strange coincidence the two pioneer Jesuit missionaries to South and to North America had speech defects. Manuel Nóbrega, who led the Portuguese Jesuits to Brazil in 1549, stuttered. So too did Rogel. Each had abundant health, each had flaming zeal to convert the people of India. Both ended their lives in America. Both were apparently diffident about their respective mental qualifications to teach in college or preach in Europe. In April of 1561, Laínez through his secretary answered Rogel's appeal, commending his spirit, but indicating there was a difficulty of state about sending Spanish Jesuits to Portuguese colonies.[11] Consequently, when Laínez received requests for men to go to India and Ethopia he referred these to the Portuguese Provincial. In one letter of the kind, written at the end of 1560, he mentions that Portugal should take care of India and Ethopia, but added:

> However, there are three good men in Castile who have requested to be sent to India. I think your reverence [Father Jerome Nadal] spoke of one who is in Toledo, Fr. Juan Rogel; the other was sent from Toledo to Cuenca, who is Fr. Martínez and who preaches there; the other is Fr. León . . . .[12]

Clearly, Rogel had made his desire known in Portugal. He might even have been sent to India if Nadal had been able to make the preparations for the trip before the Portuguese fleet sailed.

Much disappointed, Rogel kept asking to be sent to India with such persistence that the new provincial of Portugal, Pedro Parra, after meeting Rogel in Toledo, wrote from Lisbon to the General, saying that he had few men to send to the missions and that the Spanish fathers were volunteering but could not be sent because they did not know the language, and specifically:

---

[10] *MHSI, Epistolae Lainii,* V, 192-194.

[11] Zubillaga, 233.

[12] *MHSI, Epistolae Nadal,* I, 367.

> This Father Licentiate Juan Rogel of our Company, who has been in it eight or nine years, is a Navarrese, is full of love for India, and is without doubt most suitable for it. This padre entered the Company in the College of Valencia and is in Toledo now with these insatiable desires to go to the Indies. For the love of our Lord, Your Paternity, satisfy him if it is possible, since without a doubt I have never in my life witnessed such a longing for India.[13]

Destiny. Florida

Despite all pleas the years passed while Rogel continued his parish work and awaited his call. Not until 1565 was his desire to aid in the salvation of heathen mankind gratified. Then on May 12 his appointment was made, not to India but to Florida in North America.[14] He was to go with two other Jesuits. Father Jerónimo Rúiz del Portillo, or Father Segura, or Father Martínez, was to be superior, whichever could be released. The other was to be a lay brother. Florida was probably very far from the thoughts of Rogel, but events of state and diplomacy had brought it very much to the fore.

The land known as Florida was the southeastern portion of North America whose interior boundaries were unexplored and unmarked.[15] The land and its natives resisted every intrusion from the time Juan Ponce de León first sighted it in the Pascal season of 1513 near the St. John's River. The natives repelled his overtures. Seven years later in his attempt to subdue the Indians of the "island" his expedition ended in his own fatal wounding and subsequent death. Others tried for thirty years to explore the mysterious north from the Antilles — Pineda, Gordillo, Quexos, Gómez, Lucas Vásquez de Ayllón, Panfilo de Narváez, and Herando de Soto. Men went seeking cities, pygmies, giants, fountains of gold, waterways to the Orient, slaves, kangaroo men, and anything their minds or the primitive minds of the Indians could think up. The Dominican Fathers arrived in 1549 seeking souls, unarmed save for the cross. Their leader, Fray Luis Cancer, and two of his fellow workers were slain.

It was time to despair of Florida for ten whole years. Still the forbidding land refused to be abandoned. Fleet after fleet of treasure laden ships sailed around it through the Bahama Channel on their way back to Spain. Pirates could waylay these from lairs along the Florida coast. Not only this but Calvinists might get footholds for colonies in these left-over places of Spain's widening empire, or the English might find a strait through North America to India. Moreover, ships needed a haven along that coast in the event of storms, which had already taken a great toll in lives and commerce. Hence, another expedition under Tristán de Luna y Arellano sailed to colonize western Florida, only to meet with failure in the resentful place and to return broken to Española in the middle of 1561. Philip II, having been refused the hand of Elizabeth of England, now married the Princess Elizabeth of France, which event lessened his fears about a French intrusion into his American estate. Yet, within a year, in 1562, after the Luna-Villafañe expedition had left Florida to its beastly self, Jean Ribaut and his Huguenot colony were settled. They also failed at Port Royal, South Carolina. This invasion of his Florida premises brought back old worries to Philip II. The second Huguenot group under Laudonnière landed and built Fort Caroline on the St. John's River in 1564. Such activity, following the disasterous year 1563 when hundreds of Spanish and Portuguese ships were attacked by pirates, stirred Spain to immediate action.

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[13] Parra to Laínez, Nov. 12, 1563, *MHSI*, *Epistolae Lainii*, VIII, 487.

[14] *MHSI*, *Epistolae Borgia*, III, 798; Zubillaga, 183.

[15] The story of the Spanish and French in Florida has been told in many texts and the bibliography is long; Cf. Woodbury Lowery, *The Spanish Settlements within the Present Limits of the United States*, New York, I, 1905; H. E. Bolton, *The Spanish Borderlands*, New Haven, 1921, Chapters I and V and Bibliographical Note; many monographs on particular expeditions have appeared in recent years. For a recent survey of the international scene see Zubillaga, Chapters VII and VIII.

To rid Florida of the French peril and to establish a strong base the King chose Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, a wealthy Asturian nobleman, and an admiral renowned as a hunter of pirates.[16] Menéndez, from the captures of pirates and from various commercial expeditions, had amassed a large fortune. From August, 1563, he had been in jail for twenty months because of violations of the rules of the House of Trade. He was released in February, 1565, and given an elaborate contract to conquer, settle, exploit, civilize, and explore Florida even to Newfoundland, to be its governor, and to trade, provided he financed the expedition to the extent of his own fortune of $1,800,000 and a loan from the king.[17] Casting about for the necessary number of clergymen and missionaries he thought of the Jesuits and asked that the king order four to go with his expedition.

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[16] For Menéndez de Avilés's character see Lowry, Ch. VII; the late Michael Kenny, *The Romance of the Floridas*, Milwaukee, 1934, Chapters VII and VIII, makes a hero of Menéndez; Zubillaga, Ch. IX, and *passim*, likewise offers too high praise.

[17] Bolton, 141; clearly from the descriptions of Menéndez's orders, charter, and privileges, the expedition was primarily concerned with ousting the French and establishing Florida on a business basis; and it seems that the Jesuits were to go primarily as chaplains to the troops, sailors, and settlers, rather than as missionaries to the heathens.

To this time Philip II would not allow Jesuits to go to his colonies, but now on March 20, 1565, urged by Menéndez he granted the petition that had been repeated many times in previous years.[18] Some members of the Council of the Indies opposed for reasons of their own, still the king ruled against them.[19] Menéndez with the royal *cedula* in his hand appeared before the Provincial of Toledo, González, asking for an allotment of men. González and other fathers were keen for Florida, after listening to the *Adelantado's* account of the wonderful possibilities there for spiritual work. Still they could do nothing about it without the permission of their General. At the time this office was vacant, since Father Laínez had died in January, 1565, and the congregation of fathers had not as yet met to elect his successor. But, Menéndez was told, he might write to Francis Borgia, the vicar-general.

At the end of March Menéndez had his written request on its way to Rome. In this letter he describes Florida as he hoped it would be rather than as it actually was. It was, he explained, bordering on New Spain and on its north and west it was near Tartary, China, and Molucca! He thought that there must be an arm of the sea separating Florida from Tartary and China, since the Florida natives came from there. The latter were groping in the dark for the light of Faith.[20] Whether this wealth of misinformation was given deliberately to entice the Jesuits or whether Spain's outstanding admiral was so grossly ignorant of geography is not precisely clear. On May 12, 1565, Borgia wrote three letters,[21] one to Menéndez promising him not the six but three Jesuits, one to González naming those to go or their alternates, and one to those who were chosen to go advising them of the importance of the step. As we have seen Rogel was one of the appointees.

It required some time in Spain to make the selection from the alternates. Meanwhile, Menéndez was gathering his expeditionaries. In June he had a fleet of ten ships to transport a thousand men, chiefly soldiers and officials, and one hundred "useless people," namely, married men, women, and children. Four diocesan priests were to sail as chaplains.[22] Clearly, the expedition was to be a military one. Before the three Jesuits could get ready the *Adelantado* sailed out of Cádiz on June 29. Driven back by the weather his fleet finally left on July 28.

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[18] Zubillaga, *La Florida*, 182.

[19] Alegre, I, 5.

[20] *MHSI*, Vol. 69, *Monumenta Antiquae Florida*, (*1566–1672*) edidit Felix Zubillaga, S.J., Rome, 1946, Document 1, pages 1-3. Father Zubillaga in this volume, the third of the *Monumenta Missionum*, has brought together all of the available letters regarding the Jesuits in Florida during the years indicated. In each case he indicates previous publication of the document and authors who have utilized it or its contents; his introduction and footnotes are in Latin. Hereafter this will be cited as *MAF*.

[21] *MAF*, Documents 3, 4, 5.

Rogel and his unchosen companions thus missed several outstanding events in the history of our southeast. Menéndez, reaching Florida August 28, 1565, scattered Ribaut's fleet, captured Fort Caroline, laid the foundations of San Agustín on September 6, and perpetrated the massacre of the "luteranos" that has so often been described.[23] News of his deeds reaching Europe in October rocked the French and Spanish courts, as France charged Menéndez with murder and Philip II defended him. To Menéndez these operations were just preliminaries to his general plan. For months he was intensely occupied between Florida and Havana, directing expeditions and settlements and writing to Spain for more settlers, soldiers, and the Jesuit missionaries.

While all this was taking place Father Rogel continued hopefully with his parish work at Toledo. Menéndez had appointed Pedro del Castillo his superintendent in Spain to gather an auxiliary fleet. This was to sail in April, 1566, with provisions for the starving colony and with military aid, because it was almost certain that the French would seek revenge in Florida. In one letter, dated January 30, 1566, to Castillo, the *Adelantado* appended a note to the Jesuit provincial of Andalucia, to the effect that the whole salvation of the Florida colony depended upon the Jesuits.[24] He flattered them by saying that he would hold them in high esteem as *señores,* not just as ordinary companions, that is, chaplains.

Philip II now complicated matters for Rogel and his companions by asking on March 3, 1566, for *twenty-four* missionaries, six of whom were to go to Florida,[25] and assuming, as Philip might, that his mere nod would be obeyed, he shortly afterward issued a series of communications to the House of Trade and customs officials of

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[22] Lowery, *Spanish Settlements,* I, 153.
[23] *Ibid.,* I, 158.
[24] Zubillaga, *La Florida,* 213.
[25] *MHSI, Epistolae Borgia,* IV, 226-227; *MAF,* Documents 18, 19.

Seville. He considered the matter so important that he sent four *cédulas* on March 24 and another on April 9.[26]

From these we get an insight into the provisions made for the missionaries. The officials were to provide for six Jesuits who were to go with the fleet of Sancho de Arciniega. Their transportation to the port with their effects was to be paid for by the *Casa* treasurer. So too were their expenses during their stay in Seville and Sanlúcar, the port of embarkation, to be met by the payment of one real and a half, about sixteen cents, a day for each man. Each was to be supplied with a cloak, a cassock, a biretta, a mattress, a blanket, and a pillow for shipboard. The king or his secretary Erasso, named four of the six who, he thought, were going: Fathers Gerónimo Rúiz del Portillo, Bautista de Segura, Martínez, and Rogel.

The Spanish provincials to whom Borgia had turned over the nominations now thought that they did not have the authority by the constitution to send men overseas, meaning on military expeditions. Thus a new delay occurred in appointing missionaries while letters were being exchanged between them and the Roman headquarters.[27] Rogel, meanwhile, sure of his appointment, became a professed father of three vows on April 28 and set out for Seville to join brother Villarreal and to await Martínez. Arriving there on May 5, 1566, he found that the fleet of Arciniega was lying at anchor at Sanlúcar de Barremeda awaiting a favorable wind.[28] For five days Rogel waited the coming of three other Jesuits, but on May 10, Arciniega hoisted sail and was away to Florida without the padres. For their transportation, however, he left one ship which could depart with them later in the fleet going to New Spain.

During these days Rogel was having a scruple removed. His worry was about giving absolution to *conquistadores* who might come to him to confess in the New World.[29] Moral theologians were disputing the point, and apparently Rogel asked his provincial for a specific mode of procedure. The provincial, González, wrote to Borgia. Borgia replied that he did not think conquerors, that is those who killed or abused the natives or who had illgotten gains in violation of several commandments, would be his lot in Florida, and if they should be he would have no doubt regarding what to do about refusing absolution or giving it. Borgia seemed to think that Rogel would know when an aggressor was truly repentent and willing to make all restitution in justice and when the conqueror could not receive the sacrament of penance. Little did Juan Rogel know that he had touched upon a point of justice involving the defense of the rights of the Indians, which would bring the succeeding generations of Jesuits into conflict with both Spanish authorities and colonial estate holders.

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[26] Ruben Vargas Ugarte, "The First Jesuit Mission in Florida," translated by A. J. Owen, in *Historical Records and Studies*, The United States Catholic Historical Society, New York, 1935, 68-71. Kenny, *Romance of the Floridas*, 171, states that Menéndez had made himself personally responsible for all the expenses of the priests, but it is clear from these *cédulas* that the king ordered the Casa de Contratación to supply the expenses of food, clothing, and transportation. Mariano Cuevas, *Historia de la Iglesia en México*, El Paso, Texas, 1928, Vol. II, 328, regards the supplies as niggardly.

[27] Zubillaga, *La Florida*, 215, considers Father Antonio de Araoz, the Comisario general of the Spanish provinces, as the chief obstructionist; he and the provincials found it difficult to spare their men without doing damage to the Jesuit projects in Spain.

[28] Lowery, I, 255 and n. 1; Zubillaga, *La Florida*, 216-217.

[29] On this touchy point see *MAF*, Doc. 20, p. 46, and Doc. 40, especially note 100, p. 126, and Doc. 50, p. 169.

The rest of May and most of June was spent in making preparations for the journey. Father Martínez was made superior of the mission band when it was clear that Father del Portillo could not leave. Although Menéndez had made himself responsible for all expenses of the Jesuits, it is clear that his agent provided nothing, for by the orders of the king the House of Trade had paid for their clothing and transportation, and Don Pedro del Castillo, regidor of Cádiz, had supplied them with books, vestments, chalices and all that was necessary for the celebration of Mass.[30] While waiting the sailing hour Martínez, Rogel, and Villarreal circulated among the westward passengers and crews of the fleet exhorting all to a better life and preparedness for death, in case of shipwreck or pirate attacks. Finally, on June 28, the admiral gave the glad word to hoist anchors and the fleet sailed down the Guadalquivir River from Sanlúcar.[31] It was *adios* forever to their homeland for the three Jesuits.

A Hundred Days at Sea

A sea voyage in the sixteenth century was a trial of endurance.[32] Rogel and his companions found it very much so in the large Flemish storeship manned not by Spaniards but by Flemings. The *urca* consisted of a large hold covered by a deck. Sand and provisions made the ballast. The sand was a floor on which a fireplace was arranged with a chimney running up through the deck. Cooking utensils were cluttered around the fireplace, and food scraps and garbage were either buried in the sand or tossed into buckets to be hauled aloft later. The hold and sleeping quarters were dreary, below the water level, smelly and full of smoke. Passengers were confined to this dark cavern in rough weather. High seas sometimes washed the deck necessitating a battening down of the hatches and a closing of the only openings to air and sky. The food and water grew progressively worse with time; fruit and vegetables rotted; bread grew moldy and alive with weevils; even salt meat became maggoty. Water had always to be conserved and was regularly rationed.

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[30] Kenny, *Romance of the Floridas*, 171; Zubillaga, *La Florida*, 204.

[31] For the account of the journey all of the writers on the Jesuit missions in Florida have utilized Rogel's long letter, now published: *MAF*, Doc. 41, pp. 101-140, Father Juan Rogel to Father Didacus Avellaneda, Provincial, from Monte Christi and Havana, November 1566-January 30, 1567. The title, introduction and notes by Fr. Zubillaga are in Latin.

[32] For the following description of travel see W. E. Woodward, *A New American History*, New York, 1936, 28; for some improvement in traveler comfort see, Theodore E. Treutlein, "Jesuit Travel to New Spain, 1678-1756," MID-AMERICA, XIX, 104-123.

Even before their departure Martínez and Rogel had been acting as chaplains to the crew of their ship and now that they were at sea their spiritual work was intensified. To do so they had to become acquainted with the Netherlandish language spoken by the Flemings. The presence of the padres undoubtedly had a dampening effect upon the card games, the brawls, the talk and the oaths common among sailors.[33] Oaths were the great sin, according to Rogel, and to stop them they brought the blasphemers around to paying a small fine or giving up either a portion of their food or drink at meals. The idea seems to have spread to the other ships of the large fleet, so that by the time the Canaries were reached on July 7, a notable improvement had been made. In place of the idle amusements the zealous fathers organized a daily routine of regular periods of prayer, catechetical instruction, sermons, conferences, Sunday Mass, and confessions. Fear of attacks by Turks or pirates, fear of storm and shipwreck, and danger of death aided in the conversions.

Arriving at the port of Las Palmas the fleet and the fathers received a warm welcome. The Canary Islanders kept Rogel and Martínez occupied in their various ministerial tasks. One morning they found to their surprise that the Viceroy Gastón de Peralta and the Admiral Juan de Velasco and many notables sailing in the fleet for New Spain had come to the chapel for Mass and the sermon.[34] On Saturday, July 13, at noon the fleet left Las Palmas amid the farewells of civil and religious officials and a grateful crowd of people on the wharf.

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[33] *MAF*, 103-107.

[34] *Ibid.*, 111-112.

The fleet made a swift and safe journey to the West Indies, arriving in sight of the most easterly of the Islands, Montserrat, on August 9. For two days longer the Flemish vessel remained with the fleet, then it swung toward the northwest while the flotilla continued on to Vera Cruz. The lone *urca* carrying the missionaries made its way between Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands without encountering "any great tempests, but some calms," past the Bahamas and to the coast of Florida.[35] On the feast day of San Agustín, August 28, they were along the shores of the southeast coast, off South Carolina, looking anxiously for Santa Elena, a port whose location had been vaguely described to them as somewhere between thirty-one and thirty-two and a half degrees of north latitude.[36]

On the following day the pilot took their bearings and found that they were just above thirty-two and a half degrees north latitude, very probably in what is now St. Helena Sound. Since no one knew anything about the coast a small boat manned by some Flemings and a Spaniard was sent ashore to inquire about the port of Santa Elena, but no human being could be found. Rogel thought from the look of the land that it corresponded to what was Cape S. Román, or present Cape Romain. Utterly lost, the pilot decided to round a cape, very probably the southern tip of Edisto Island, and then, as

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[35] *Ibid.*, 112.

[36] There has been some dispute between different historians regarding the exact route taken by the ship after breaking away from the Spanish fleet. Alegre, I, 5, states that the ship made its way first to Havana, waited there for a pilot, and finally set out for Florida. "They drifted about for a month until September 24, when, ten leagues from the coast, they sighted land between 25° and 26° *al West de la Florida*." How the *West* got into print is not known, but the general statement is correct; what his authority is for the trip to Havana is not given. Antonio Astrain, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la Asistencia de España*, Madrid, 1902-1925, II, 287, follows Alegre, but Kenny, 171, and Zubillaga follow the account of Rogel, who does not mention a stop at Havana. In 1927 Father F. Ayuso, edited for publication, the manuscript "Fundación de la Compañía de Jesús en Nueva España, por El P. Juan Sánchez Baquero, S.J., 1571-1580." Juan Sánchez who was in the first group of Jesuits to come to Mexico City in 1572, lived in the same house with Juan Rogel, and when it came to the composition of his chapter on the Jesuits in Florida, he let the latter tell the story, and even after the lapse of many years Rogel told substantially the same story as he did in his letter written a few months after the trip. In this there is no mention of the stop at Havana, but it is clear that Alegre used this account of Rogel's and very likely made the mistake of putting in the stop at Havana *before* the ship went to Florida rather than afterward. A photostat of the typed edition of Juan Sánchez's "Fundación," is in the possession of Dr. Philip Powell of Northwestern University, who has generously loaned it. The part of this pertaining to Florida has now been published in *MAF*, Doc. 139, 606-617, under the heading "Relatio de Missione Floridae a Patre Ioanne Rogel inter Annos 1607-1611 Scripta."

Rogel remarks, "the Lord here began to visit us with gifts and samples, giving us some little part of His cross."[37]

The point which they were trying to pass was no more than a few leagues away, but they could not double it for three or four days because of the contrary wind. No sooner did they reach the sea on September 3, than a dreaded hurricane struck. For twelve hours it battered the ship, cracking a mast and sweeping away a lifeboat. With the ship's hold full of water they were just preparing to "render their account," when the storm ended at noon of September 4. They spent the rest of this day and the following looking for some sign indicating the port of Santa Elena, using a description of the shore that they had. When they thought that they were about eight leagues from the port, a new storm blew from the north, and it was the fourth day before they again caught sight of land. To their chagrin they discovered it was exactly the place where they had first taken their bearings. Now they had no meat and the food and water were low. Even so, they decided to put out to sea and coast southward toward their haven.

When they reached what they estimated to be thirty degrees, thirty minutes north latitude, present Amelia Island, Florida, they were suffering from thirst. The sea was calm, so they decided to send the remaining launch ashore to find water and to inquire about the location of the port. Two Spaniards, six Flemings, and Father Martínez were the landing party. Rogel stated years afterwards that the idea of landing was Martínez's. The day was September 14, the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross.[38] Rogel did not realize as the boat made for the low shore that this was a farewell to his friend and superior.

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[37] *MAF*, 113-114, for this and the following paragraph.

[38] *MAF*, 115. Rogel states that the day was the 14th after midday; but Menéndez writing to Father Didacus Avellaneda, from San Agustín, October 15, 1566, *MAF*, 95, says: "On September 14, with a side wind, there arrived near this port of San Agustín, some two leagues away, a ship, and as it seemed to me that it could not recognize the port I sent out a *batel* manned by many oars to lead it in, but the sea was rough and the tide against it and it could not navigate. And within two days a tempest began . . ." It seems very strange that Menéndez did not signal by gun or smoke from the shore; secondly, the tempest began around midnight of September 14, according to Rogel, not within two days. A shrewd guess would be that Menéndez, if he saw the strange ship, thought it might be a pirate, hence did not want to signal it. It is queer also that if the *urca* came as close to the land as about two leagues, its lookout, alert for any such signs, did not see either the masts of Menéndez's ship or the outlines of a fortification, just after they decided to scrutinize the shore from the thirtieth to the thirty-second degree. Another point of discrepancy lies in the description of the sea; Rogel says it was calm at the landing place, and the pilot thought the calm portended a storm; Menéndez at San Agustín some thirty miles away, says it was rough. Alonso López de Almazán, writing to Avellaneda, Provincial of Andalucía, from Monte Christi, Dec.

As night approached the pilot began to fear that a prevailing and unusual calm portended a storm. Worried about the landing party the guns were fired to signal a return to the ship, but no answer came from the land. At midnight the storm struck. The crew, short-handed and terror-struck, were mutinous, as the ship was blown southward. The captain finally put in at Cape Carnaveral, about 150 miles south of the marooned landing party. Suddenly they found that the wind was blowing them toward a beach half a league away. They knew from the description of the coast how savage the natives were. And they had no weapons nor small boats. Giving themselves up as lost the sailors led by the pilot rushed to confession. Fortunately, the anchor held in spite of the strong current and wind, until a heaven-sent change in wind allowed them to escape the shoal and move away from Cape Carnaveral.

New danger promptly arose. The drinking water was gone, and the sailors were in open mutiny, demanding that the pilot set a course for Santo Domingo.[39] Rogel was grateful to God for a rain two days later which provided the water from then until they arrived at Havana, but he did not mention the mutiny in his letter nor put it in writing until long years afterward. We do not know his feelings when he sailed away from the land and the missionary field which he had so long desired. They left the coast of Florida on September 28, not knowing where to find a near port. Apparently the pilot returned in the general direction they had come and after twenty-six days, on October 24, put in at Monte Christi on the northern shore of Española, 1,200 miles from where Martínez landed and nearly 1,000 miles from Havana! Rogel and Villarreal had then not

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1, 1566, *MAF*, Doc. 43, tells the story of Martínez and the landing party as he had it from the survivor, Flores; from this account, p. 145, Menéndez had six ships when he saw the *urca;* one of these at least was a frigate, which could have overtaken the storeship if he sent it. Lowery, 270-271, follows Menéndez's account, and hence, puts the landing day as September 16. Kenny, 180-181, has the landing day as September 14, but says the *urca* waited for two days in calm weather for the return of the rowboat. Since much has been written about the death of Martínez, it seems unnecessary to recount it here.

[39] Indications of the mutiny have been passed over by Lowery and Kenny. In the Almazán account, *MAF*, 145, we find that the sailors would not land unless Martínez went with them, and this seems to be the only reason why he should have gone ashore. In Rogel's account of 1566, *MAF*, 116-117, it appears that he is trying to cover up the mutiny, by saying that they tried often to persuade the pilot to seek another port, finally arguing him into leaving the Florida coasts, but in his briefer account of 1606 or so, *MAF*, 607, Rogel says that the pilot was forced by threats.

been on land for 103 days. They were given shelter and food in the home of an important townsman, and heartily welcome it was.

They discovered that Pedro Menéndez Marqués, nephew of the Adelantado Menéndez de Avilés and Factor of the Florida colony, was a dozen leagues away at Puerto Real gathering meat for the colony.[40] A messenger was sent to him to announce the ship's arrival and to request a Spanish pilot, since the Fleming was in disgrace with the mariners. Rogel gives an account of his missionary work especially his daily crusade against the oaths, blasphemy, and uncleanness that left him sad of heart. More sorrow was brought to himself and Villarreal sometime after October 15, when one of the Adelantado's frigates arrived from San Agustín with the news of the death of Father Martínez. This was truly a personal loss, but at the same time it was the loss of a great laborer in the field so ready for the harvest of souls.

The captain of the frigate brought orders from Menéndez. The *urca* was to proceed to Havana with the two Jesuits, who would there find eighteen Indians from Florida. From these the missionaries could learn the language and customs of the lands toward which they were headed. The thought made Rogel eager to leave Monte Christi, despite the fine hospitality of his host, but Menéndez Marqués was taking his time about organizing the supply fleet. He arrived with six vessels at Monte Christi and proceeded to load the *urca* with stuffs and munitions and to add passengers—soldiers and Negro slaves.[41] Obviously, getting the missionaries to their destination was not the chief concern of the Florida officials. Furthermore, the overloading nearly brought disaster.

The fleet left Monte Christi on November 25, 1566.[42] Four days out it was becalmed. Then a north wind blew it toward some islands called *cayos,* evidently the long line of keys along northern Cuba. Their alarm grew when they found the water becoming more shallow and rocks, *ratones,* below. They cast out an anchor with a *rope cable*! This of course was soon severed. A second anchor was dropped and also was lost. The third and largest then went down. This held for about twelve hours, then broke. Adrift, among the shoals they could neither launch the pinnace nor swim ashore. Their dismay finally gave way to relief when the wind died, and they thanked God for preserving their lives.

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[40] *MAF*, 118.

[41] *MAF*, 118-123; for an account of his spiritual and medical work in Monte Christi, see 123-129.

[42] *MAF*, 129-132, Rogel describes the voyage.

Pushing slowly north they very soon found themselves out in the Gulf Stream being pulled toward Florida, where more shoals awaited. Trying to get back they were terrified by a new danger. A series of great waves opened the sides of the storeship below the water line! The sea began to enter the hold. And worst of all Marqués and his escorting ships were pulling away. In vain they fired salvos as night descended. The three pumps were manned while repair work went on. Through the night the sailors, soldiers, and slaves labored to weariness on the pumps. The leaks were plugged, the ship limped into Havana, having been sixteen days at sea. Rogel and Villarreal disembarked on December 10.

Havana and Calus

The two were offered a home in several places but they chose to stay with the pastor of a church. They both suffered from tertian fevers throughout December, and Rogel's knowledge of medicine was put to use to bring back health. They forgot their troubles when they met the eighteen Indians. Optimism and zeal crop out in Rogel's letter, for he saw in these Indians a promising field for instruction and conversion.[43] Moreover, there were the Negro slaves to be won to Christianity, 300,000 of them, he says, with some exaggeration. He begged his superiors to send many men to aid in the apostolic work. Little did he realize that it would be months before he himself would be in the nearby mission lands. During these months he spent his time serving the people of the port of Havana, the soldiers, sailors, natives, and slaves, while acquainting himself with the Florida scene.

The land of the Caloosa Indians and their vassals extended from present-day Miami south around the tip of Florida and up the west coast to Tampa Bay. It was the periphery of the Everglades and included the Florida Keys and other islands. The most important chief, Carlos, has his village called Calus inside Charlotte Bay. Near this Menéndez landed in February, 1566. He named the bay San Antonio and negotiated a treaty with Carlos. To secure this he had himself married according to the Indian rites to the chief's daughter, baptized Antonia for the occasion, thus adding a blot to his escutcheon, for he had a wife in Spain.[44] He sent Antonio and other Indians and the white castaways saved from Indian slavery to Havana. In October of that year Captain Francisco de Reinoso was sent to Calus with thirty soldiers to build Fort San Antonio. To this place Rogel was destined to go, as soon as Menéndez got back from Europe to war-torn Florida.

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[43] *MAF*, 134-139.

Menéndez de Avilés arrived in Havana in January or February of 1567. When the two Jesuits left with him for Florida has been a disputed point among historians. Woodbury Lowery and Father Kenny say that they left for their posts February 28 and March 1, while Rogel states that he began his missionary work only on July 1, but thanks to Zubillaga the confusion seems to be resolved, except for the exact dates of the following events.[45] On February 28 or March 1 Menéndez sailed north out of Havana with a fleet of six brigs, taking with him Rogel and Villarreal, 150 soldiers, and Antonia and her companions. They arrived at Calus in Charlotte Bay, where Chief Carlos received them. Rogel beheld now his throng of prospective neophytes for the first time. Despite certain treacherous plans Carlos ultimately made a peace treaty. After several days Menéndez sailed north to plant a garrison on Old Tampa Bay. Rogel accompanied him to view the mission possibilities. Here at Tocobaga another peace was patched up with the more savage Indians and the fort was established. This done, Avilés returned to San Antonio and Carlos, where he left Rogel at the fort, not as a missionary but as a chaplain to Reinoso's soldiers. Then Menéndez sailed south and around to the east coast of Florida to settle Brother Villarreal and a group of soldiers at Tequesta, as the new fort on the Miami River, on the site of Miami, was called.

Rogel soon realized that there was no opportunity for missionary work, because Carlos and his tribe withdrew to the islands and were plotting the destruction of the Spaniards, himself included. Both soldiers and natives were in a nasty frame of mind. When Reinoso consulted with him about his intention to execute the chief,

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[44] See Kenny, 141-142, on this mock marriage; although Fr. Kenny condemned the act, he went so far as to call it "the only serious blot on the otherwise clean escutcheon of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés," an exceedingly broad statement. The explanation that Menéndez went through the rite on the advice of his captains in the "hope of bringing the Gospel to those tribes," is not convincing, especially in view of the large financial stake Menéndez had in Florida.

[45] Kenny, 190-191, following Lowery, 276, errs in thinking that Rogel made only one trip to Calus; Zubillaga, *La Florida*, 266, 280, indicates the two trips, as does Rogel in his letter to Portillo, from Havana, April 25, 1568, in *MAF*, Doc. 85, 276, 290.

Rogel knew that a serious crisis was at hand. He could not placate either side, and so, at a date unknown he sailed to Havana to lay the case before the authorities and to get help. Several days after his departure Reinoso executed Carlos for treachery, and made the chief's brother Felipe the ruler.[46] The padre did not get back to Calus, or Fort San Antonio, to begin his mission until July 1. Meantime Villarreal was actually instructing the natives on the eastern coast at Tequesta from March, and thus was the first Jesuit missionary to work in Florida.

About the middle of June Menéndez Marqués was ready with several supply ships for a journey north.[47] Rogel sailed with him to Fort Tocobaga to hear confessions of the soldiers and to investigate the disposition of the Indians. On June 24 he said Mass at Tocobaga. During his four days stay he talked with the chief and found him and his people very much attached to their idols, so much so that when Marqués threatened to burn them, he vowed that he and his people would leap into the same fire. Without much hope for the northern outpost, Rogel returned to Fort San Antonio, arriving there on July 1. There he learned of the death of Carlos and met Felipe.[48]

From July 1, 1567, to December 8 no ship came to Calus, and Rogel fulfilled his rôle as a sincere missionary under increasingly discouraging circumstances.[49] He studied the language and the Indian customs and wrote long pages about the Caloosa beliefs and practices. His religious arguments fell on deaf ears as far as Felipe was concerned. The wily chief was decidedly against the idea of marriage to only one woman, no marriage between brothers and sisters, no idols, and baptism in general. Seeking other fields Rogel wished to go to Los Mártires Islands to evangelize the natives, but Reinoso opposed. He tried to obtain canoes from Felipe, but the captain forbade the chief and told Rogel that he would never be able to explain to Menéndez if Rogel were killed. During these long months there was ever the threats of the Indians against himself and the soldiers and ever the danger of an arrow from ambush.

The hardships increased when supplies ran low. The soldiers abused the Indians until a revolt appeared likely at any time. When the storehouse was almost empty a ship for Tocobaga stopped on December 8 and unloaded all too few provisions. Something had to be done immediately, consequently Rogel at the request of Reinoso left for Havana on the returning ship on December 10.

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[46] *MAF*, 311. For a description of Rogel's work and of Carlos's attempt on Rogel's life, see *Ibid.*, 277-310, and Kenny, 190 ff.

[47] *MAF*, 277. Rogel calls this new chief Escampaba here, but later Felipe; Zubillaga prefers Tocampaba both here and in his *La Florida.*

[48] *MAF*, 277.

[49] *MAF*, 290 ff. Rogel devotes some pages to describing his attempts to convert Felipe, the difficulties with the soldiers, and the reason for his journey to Havana.

Arriving in Havana he found the ships of Menéndez Marqués in the port.[50] He put the duty of sending help and supplies on the Factor's conscience. Marqués quickly promised the aid, and then took a full month to get it ready. Reading between the lines written by Rogel some months later to his superiors we can discover a complete condemnation of the plan of Menéndez in Calus. Rogel spent the time profitably preaching in the church of San Juan, instructing children, and talking to the slaves when they rested. His heart went out to these poor people for whom nobody seemed to have a thought. He remarks about the utter ignorance of the people and the inclinations to vice, and tells his superior that he does so in order to urge the king and his council to send men to remedy the evils. He probably was not aware during this last month of 1567 of the departure of Father Rúiz del Portillo from Sanlúcar on November 1.[51] Actually, from December 24 to January 3, 1568, Portillo and his band of seven Jesuits were in Cartagena. He was the new Provincial of the Province of Peru on his way to found the Jesuits in Lima. Florida was part of the vast area under his jurisdiction and soon would become a vice-province of Peru with Father Segura as vice-provincial.[52] Rogel's one consolation was his first baptism. He baptized a little Indian girl in Havana.

Marqués had three ships ready to sail sometime in early January of 1568. He and Rogel proceeded to Fort San Antonio and then went up the coast to aid the Tocobaga soldiers. In Tampa Bay they received a decided shock.[53] No soldier, no Indian appeared in the fort or village. Marqués held a conference about the advisability of landing and decided to wait until the following day. A salute was fired to attract attention. But the next day the truth was learned—the entire force had been massacred. Sadly, the boats moved down to San Antonio where Rogel disembarked with the supplies he was able to gather.

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[50] *MAF*, 292-293.

[51] F. Mateos, ed., *Historia General de la Compañía de Jesús en la Provincia del Perú*, Madrid, 1944, 125.

[52] *MAF*, Doc. 65, 205-206, Letter of appointment of Fr. Juan B. de Segura, by Fr. Jerónimo Rúiz del Portillo, Sept. 28, 1567.

[53] *MAF*, 295-297.

Now there was no question of any great missionary work. It would require much space to describe his heartaches. The garrison felt insecure. There was mutual distrust between Indians and soldiers, and he was not allowed to go far from the fort. He talked much to Chief Felipe, hoping that if he won the chief his people would follow, but Felipe would promise to stop his idolatry and before the day was over would be openly holding the pagan rites. There was always the fear that he would ally himself with the Tocobaga chief for the destruction of San Antonio. Sometime in March Rogel had a heartening letter from the Bishop of Yucatan, and with it a supply of maize. He had written to Bishop Francisco de Toral, a Franciscan, about a certain "case of conscience," and had asked for some maize. Bishop Toral sent far more than he had asked, but Rogel had to give half of this to the soldiers.[54]

Trouble in lower Florida began to mount. Rogel tried to stop the soldiers from harming or mistreating the Indians. Writing to Francis Borgia he says:

> Thus the soldiers at the fort have begun to treat the natives as if they had been conquered in war. They so abuse them and oppress them that the Indians refuse to tolerate it. First they counselled them to go away for the land is not suitable for colonization, then, when their counsels were of no avail they set out to kill every Spaniard they could and burn down their towns. Your Paternity may understand that though I had my hands full laboring among the Indians, so untamed, restless, and evil beyond belief, yet that was nothing compared to my trials when I strove to prevent the soldiers from harming the Indians. Their opposition has been so open that I have frequently confronted them, offering freely to die and threatening that even if they should slay me I should not cease to rebuke their evil deeds. So now they fear me, and though they still do wrong, their crimes are not so many and they try to conceal them from me. In this matter the Captain at Fort Carlos has aided me for he has rigorously punished the malefactors.[55]

More bad news soon came. On Passion Sunday, April 4, Brother Villarreal and eighteen soldiers came in from Tequesta[56] There, and all along the eastern coast, the Indians had risen in revolt and at Tequesta had slain four soldiers. The others, for reasons not stated but clear, left the post. The next event was the destruction of San Agustín by De Gourges on April 14, 1568. Florida had become a very unhealthy place for Spaniards, hence sometime between April

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[54] *MAF*, 298-299; Toral's response of Feb. 27, 1568, is given 299-302.

[55] *MAF*, Doc. 89, Rogel to Borgia, July 25, 1568, 320; this is translated in *Historical Records and Studies*, "First Jesuit Mission," *loc. cit.*, 82.

[56] *MAF*, 304-305.

4 and April 25, Rogel and Villarreal arrived in Havana. Affairs were at a standstill in Florida, since nobody could act until Menéndez returned. The Indians were to be allowed to practice their own rites.[57]

After April 25 Rogel received an order from his new superior, Juan Bautista de Segura, to go to San Agustín and to wait there until he came.[58] Segura and his group of Jesuits left Spain on March 13.[59] Rogel departed from Havana in the mail ship in May and reached San Agustín the Thursday before Ascension Thursday, which was May 19.[60] He stayed in the reconstructed fort until May 31, hearing the confessions of the soldiers. Then, since Segura had not arrived, he decided to go north on a tour of inspection of Guale, where he found conditions among the Indians far better than on the west coast. His report on the prospects was very optimistic. From Guale he went twenty-two leagues to Santa Elena, where cannibalism had been reported flourishing. This calumny he refuted, but he admitted that the Indians were not as peaceful in Santa Elena province as in Guale. He was hopeful of their conversion if good settlers were sent there.

When Rogel arrived back in San Agustín on July 3, 1568, he found to his great joy Father Segura. With him were two priests, three lay-brothers, and eight novices. The laborers and companions whom Rogel had so long wished were now in the field. For some days plans were discussed, and it was decided that the headquarters for the present should be Havana, where a training school for the prospective Jesuits and the Indians was to be established, as suggested by Menéndez, Rogel, and Segura. The group left San Agustín for Havana on July 10. On the way along the coast they stopped near Cape Carnaveral to talk to the Indians and to return to those shores two natives who had been brought to Spain by Menéndez, one a brother of the chief at Tequesta. Thus a new friendship was established with the Tequesta Indians and the land seemed ripe for the teaching of Christianity.

They were back in Havana before July 25. Segura assigned his men to the different places, but throughout August and part of September there were no boats to take them to their missions. He and

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[57] *MAF*, 319; "First Jesuit Mission," 81.

[58] *MAF*, Doc. 91, 331.

[59] *MAF*, Doc. 76, Segura to Borgia, Feb. 8, 1568, 245.

[60] For the data in this and the following paragraphs we have Rogel's letter as cited in note 55 and its translation, and for a running account there is Zubillaga, *La Florida*, 317-324.

Rogel were to remain in Havana.[61] Rogel was to begin the school, or seminary, when Menéndez came with the promised support. Father Alamo and Brother Villarreal were to go to Calus. Before his departure Alamo was stricken with fever, and hence Rogel was ordained to go. He left on September 22 with Menéndez Marqués, intending to go first to Tequesta, but the winds prevented sailing in that direction. The plan to see the effects of the return of the chief's brother to his land and if possible to bring back some children fell through. They headed instead toward Calus. "The passage which ordinarily takes but two days, we made in nineteen; and for awhile at the entrance to the bar of Carlos one of the ships was almost lost and a great number of people almost drowned when a storm struck while they were in the shallows of the same bay."[62]

Rogel remained at Fort San Antonio eight days to hear the confessions of the soldiers. When they arrived Chief Felipe and his people were dancing around poles supporting the heads of four chieftains who had plotted a revolt. Felipe, however, was friendly to him and to the Spaniards, but Rogel was not certain whether that was because of a change of heart or need of Spanish protection against his enemies. Felipe had slain eleven leaders, which is sufficient indication that he was thoroughly hated by his vassal tribes. Father Alamo under such conditions was bound to have a difficult time in Calus.

About October 17 Rogel set out for Tequesta. Somewhere near the tip of Florida the ships were delayed six days because of the winds. Their provisions ran low and they had to return to Havana. Here all but one of the Jesuits had been ill with colic and fever, though they were now recovering and Segura was planning an inspection tour of the southern Florida forts. Rogel was to remain at Havana as rector, and was to be vice-provincial in case anything happened to Segura. On his appointment we have illuminating comments. Segura wrote, November 18: "I thought it according to God's will that Father Rogel remain here as Rector because he is experienced in the government of the Society and is esteemed by all on account of his virtue and age."[63] Rogel, at this esteemed old age of thirty-nine, wrote: "God knows, if the choice were left to me, how much I would prefer to be in Florida than here, . . . and how willingly I would choose to be there rather than anywhere else in the whole world."[64] Apparently, Rogel was destined to be a padre of the port of Havana.

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[61] For Rogel's activities from July 25 to November 10, 1568, we have his letter to Borgia, dated Nov. 10 from Havana, in *MAF*, Doc. 91, 331-343, translated in "First Jesuit Mission," 86-95.

[62] *Ibid.*, 90; *MAF*, 337. The latter has 19 days, the former 10.

[63] *MAF*, Doc. 94, Segura to Borgia, from Havana Nov. 18, 1568, 359; translated in "First Jesuit Mission," 96.

By February 5, 1569, the rector of the Jesuits at Havana was worried about many things.[65] The house in which he and Brother Carrera lived was rented, and alms were supporting it and the tenants. The Governor, Borgia, and Rogel were anxious to get the college built, in fact Rogel had promise of a donation for the construction, but he did not have the authority to select the site. He would have to wait for Segura, whose whereabouts on the east coast were not known. He wrote of the great demands for the services of the fathers and begged Borgia to send more men. Even Felipe, the chief of Calus, had visited Havana, showing signs of favor toward Christianity, although still clinging to his idols.

Felipe returned to Calus about mid-February with Father Alamo and Brother Villareal. The Governor, Menéndez de Avilés, assured him that he would follow in a few days with help to aid him in his wars. However, while Rogel was busy during Lent in Havana, affairs at Calus came to a disastrous pass. Menéndez Marqués sailed there with men and supplies for the fort. He found that Felipe had no intention of foregoing his idol-worship and moreover was in a plot to do away with the Spaniards. Therefore, he destroyed the idols, executed Felipe and a dozen lesser leaders, packed all aboard boat, including the two Jesuits, and put back into Havana, most probably in May, 1569.[66] Thus, *finis* was written to the story of the Jesuits in Charlotte Bay.

Episode in South Carolina

In June Segura came to a decision to abandon all ideas of missionary work in southern Florida, that is Tocobaga, Calus, Los Mártires, and Tequesta, and to move his men to Guale, Santa Elena, and Orista.[67] Furthermore, he thought the proposed preparatory college should be at Santa Elena, closer to more tractable Indians. The province of Guale, or Amelia Island and its environs, was in northern Florida and Georgia. Up the coast in present South Carolina was the province of Santa Elena whose headquarters were in the settlement of that name, now known as St. Helen. Northeast five leagues across St. Helen Sound was Orista, later called Edisto. Rogel was named missionary for this latter place, which was precisely the land where he had first seen North America.

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[64] *Ibid.*, 94.

[65] *MAF*, Doc. 99, Rogel to Borgia, from Havana, February 5, 1569, 378-383, translated in "First Jesuit Mission," 102-105, 106-107.

[66] The letter does not give the date of the abandonment of San Antonio and the province of Calus, but Zubillaga, *La Florida*, 347, has May.

[67] Reasons for the move are given in five letters of Segura in *MAF*, 384-394; they are Doc. 100-I, Segura to Portillo, from Havana, June 19, 1569, 384, translated in "First Jesuit Mission," 107, but as Segura to Borgia; Doc. 100-II, Segura to Borgia, June 19, 1569; Doc. 100-III, Segura to Borgia, from Santa Elena, July 4, 1569; Doc. 102, Segura to Borgia, July 5, 1569. See also Rogel's Relatión, 609-611. From these letters it is clear that there was no missionary failure on the part of the Jesuits, since they

After June 19, Rogel sailed with Segura and the other Jesuits to Santa Elena. They arrived late in June and he remained there until August, planning the work in the new field.[68] In mid-August, he says, he started his labor in Orista, a labor of eleven months.[69] He little foresaw in these early days of hopefulness that on July 13, 1570, he would be tearing down the crude chapel and hut which he was building.

The program adopted for Orista was an improvement over that in Calus. There was no guard of soldiers to molest the natives. The Indians were to be allowed to live their lives until drawn to the mission as Christians. They would be accepted into the new religion only after instruction and without coercion or the thought of temporal or other gain. Rogel had to study their language well in order to carry out this plan, and he brought three of the young Jesuit postulants with him to learn the tongue. Patience seemed to be the watchword, but Rogel could endure the hardships as long as the promise of conversion appeared so bright.

"The first resident priest of South Carolina," as Lanning terms Rogel, learned the language in six months time, well enough to preach sermons to the Indians.[70] He labored at building homes for

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had hardly engaged in any under the circumstances. It is clear also that they were considered more as chaplains at the forts, and there is an impression left by the letters that they did not wish to be such. They had been given to understand that they were to preach the Gospel to the natives, and they had numerous scruples about absolving Menéndez and his soldiers, as is testified by Rogel's letter to the Bishop of Yucatán "about a certain case of conscience," and Segura's requests for decisions, and his sending Fr. Alamo back to Spain to get solutions to the problems.

[68] *MAF*, Doc. 125, Rogel to Menéndez, from Havana, Dec. 9, 1570, 472.

[69] *MAF*, Doc. 104, Rogel to Hinistrosa, from (the province of) Santa Elena, Dec. 11, 1569, 399. Apparently, one of the postulants taken by Rogel to the mission was the son of this Juan de Hinistrosa. This letter and others written by Rogel later have been the bases for the many accounts of Orista written by John Gilmary Shea, Brinton, Lowery, Vargas Ugarte, Kenny, Zubillaga, and Lanning.

[70] John Tate Lanning, *The Spanish Missions of Georgia*, Chapel Hill, N.C., 1935, 44. Dr. Lanning's fine account, 44-47, is marred by the wrong use of titles for the Jesuits; he calls them friars, while some of the brothers are called fathers, and Father Borgia is called Duke.

them, finishing twenty in the course of his stay. For planting corn he had brought three hoes, and in the spring obtained five more from Santa Elena. He tramped the woods at times to be with his wards when they were away. He cared for their sick when an epidemic struck. He procured presents and corn for them, but never received a sign of real confidence, rather only jeers and jokes.

The first great blow to his hopes came after two and a half months. The Orista Indians migrated. They held preliminary dances and ceremonies in various villages before wandering out into the woods in search of acorns and other food. They left behind only ancients of the tribe, and they would return probably in the spring to plant their widely scattered fields of corn. Rogel was practically alone with his dreams of an organized community. He thought at first that the solution would be to get provisions for them to prevent their nomadic existence, but finally concluded that what they had been doing for thousands of years could not suddenly be stopped. He began to realize, too, that the mere sight of a planned existence was irritating to them. When they straggled back during the winter and found the village building in progress and corn ready for those who wished to plant, they remained more and more aloof. Only two families used the hoes and seed.

The second blow was his final conviction that they preferred the devil to his God. When they asked him about the devil, Rogel's description corresponded to their ancestral god.[71] When he told them that the devil was their enemy and that they would have to hate him, the Indians refused to listen to him any longer.

The final reason for the end of his career in South Carolina was the Spanish violation of the agreement regarding quartering soldiers upon the natives. This program stemmed from the neglect on the part of Menéndez, busy with court politics, to send sufficient supplies, and even salaries for the garrisons. In June, 1570, Juan de Vandera, the lieutenant in charge at Santa Elena, being hard pressed to feed his soldiers, began quartering forty on the Indians in Rogel's vicinity, then issued an order to the chiefs of Escamacu Island, Orista, and Ahoya, to send by a set date a designated number of canoes filled with corn to Santa Elena. This was what Rogel had promised to defend the Indians from—military interference and oppression. To them then he appeared a traitor. A revolt loomed. Now, Rogel had been ordered by Segura to leave Orista if there should be any appearance of danger of death. This he was bound to obey. He knew what would happen if he remained after the soldiers withdrew. Consequently, a week before their departure with great grief of heart he commenced tearing down his chapel and home. He bade farewell to the Oristans, and on July 13, 1570, left with the soldiers for Santa Elena. He later wrote to Menéndez telling him in effect that there was no hope of ever converting the savages any place in Florida. Reading between the lines he appears to be saying that the whole Florida project was doomed to failure.

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[71] For this and the following paragraph Rogel's letter to Menéndez, *MAF*, 473-475, has been followed.

The forts along the coast were in a bad way. The soldiers were unpaid, half naked, and starving. Indeed, in these summer months they were mutinous, and at San Agustín Menéndez Marqués barely prevented the garrison from escaping. "Their intention was to seize a boat lying in the harbour and put to sea in her without a pilot, sailors, anchors, or any equipment whatever, so eager were they to abandon the fort and escape from that fateful region."[72] Las Alas, one of Menéndez's able lieutenants, had deserted his post in the south, had sailed north picking up officers, officials, and men to the number of 120, and had sailed from Santa Elena for Spain on August 13, 1570.[73] This desertion left only 150 soldiers to guard the forts of the whole coast, and enough food and ammunition for a few months. In a plague in Guale one of the Jesuits, Brother Váez, had died.

Under these circumstances of starvation, desertion, and lack of discipline in the Spanish forts and with the Indians very hostile and practically at war with the whites, the missionaries had no choice about staying. They could go north where, they were told, the natives were nicer, or they could go back to Havana. Thus it happened that Segura divided his forces. He with four other Jesuits and four young postulants or catechists went to Virginia. He sent Rogel, Father Antonio Sedeño, three lay-brothers, and some catechists to Havana. On August 5, 1570, Segura left Santa Elena for Chesapeake Bay, lured to this promising land by the treacherous Christian Indian Luis.[74] The story of the slaying of eight of the band on the

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[72] Lowery, 359.

[73] *Ibid.*, 357.

[74] *Ibid.*, 360, and Appendix EE, 461-464. Lowery has been the authority for this date of departure, but Zubillaga in his note in *MAF*, 477, n. 25, and in *La Florida*, 396, says the date is unknown; he thinks that Segura could not have left Santa Elena before September and that he could not have settled at Ajacán until late November or early December. From another statement of Zubillaga in *La Florida*, 416, n. 50, we know that Sedeño on Nov. 14, 1570, was named by Borgia superior of the Florida missions during the absence of Segura; this means that Borgia in Rome on that date knew of Segura's departure, and it must have taken weeks for word to get to Rome and it could have taken three months.

Rappahannock, or the Potomac, or both rivers, February 4 and 7, 1571, has often been told. Rogel and the others left Santa Elena in July or August of 1570 in a small sloop for Havana.[75]

Trouble with Menéndez

Rogel's life for the next two years was spent in Havana. He was Rector of a college-to-be, but living in some unsanitary quarters on alms. Promises were numerous, but still only promises. He and Sedeño won the affection of the people of the city through their sermons and confessions, but they spent much of their time helping the poor and instructing the Negro slaves. Performing the routines of parish priests they anxiously awaited a call from Segura and the arrival of Menéndez during the last of 1570 and the beginning of 1571.

In the Spring of 1571 a Captain González with Brother Salcedo sailed up the eastern coast of Georgia and South Carolina and put into Chesapeake Bay where they noticed ominous signs.[76] Indians were wearing parts of the cassocks of Jesuits. And there were no missionaries about. González heard that one of the Segura band, Alonzo, was a captive. Amid a shower of arrows he captured two of the Ajacán Indians to bring back to Havana for questioning. One of these dove overboard, the other refused to speak. Rogel and Sedeño knowing the treacherous nature of the east coast Indians feared for the worst. They wanted to send out a rescue party immediately.

Now Menéndez had arrived in Havana, this time bringing his wife for a long residence in America, in, of all places, Santa Elena. He had written to Borgia January 10, 1571, begging for at least four more Jesuits, saying "any one of them will be worth more than a thousand soldiers."[77] Borgia had answered, March 20, that he had heard how the Indians preferred to be with the devil in his inferno rather than with God, that he had no men to spare, that there were requests for their services in far more promising places than Florida.[78] Evidently, Borgia had sized up Menéndez's enterprise correctly from the letters of Rogel and the others. As for the long proposed seminary in Havana, Borgia wrote, the men assigned to it would be under no obligations to go to Florida or be prohibited from moving freely. In the face of all of the condemnations of Menéndez's operations by the Jesuits, the Spanish court, the House of Trade, the captains of the forts, the Indians, and even Pope St. Pius, it is very surprising to read the Jesuit Father Kenny's constant defence of the Adelantado.[79]

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[75] *MAF*, 478, 487 n. 4.
[76] *MAF*, 613; Zubillaga, *La Florida*, 414-415.
[77] *MAF*, Doc. 126, 481.
[78] *MAF*, Doc. 128, 489-490.

Even in the Summer of 1570 Borgia had made up his mind about sending more men to barren Florida. He wrote through his secretary:

> Señor Pero Meléndez, governor and adelantado of Florida, is very insistent about bringing many fathers of the Company to those places, arguing that their presence would be very useful. Now it seems that it is neither useful, because no fruit can be hoped for among those Indians, nor convenient, because the life they lead is most laborious; each is separated from the other among pagan Indians without hope of converting them from their barbarity and crudeness. To each one is measured out a ration of maize with absolutely nothing else, so that some are dead and others have such stomach trouble, since they are delicate and more at home in studies, that if they stay much longer in that place they will die like the others. Father Baptista de Segura who is their vice-provincial, says that one Brother wanted to embark from there of necessity, and the captain told him that if he were allow any theatine to sail the adelantado would hang him from a yardarm; those were his orders and he showed them in writing, and they also said that unless it was by the provision of His Majesty, they could not sail even though it were necessary. Our Father [Borgia] desires that the religious there have the same liberty that they have in all other places, as is reasonable, and it is enough for them to give their labors and to spend their lives where they will be for the service of the Majesty of heaven and earth, without losing also their liberty. Wherefore, let your reverence or Father Esquivel, treating tactfully with the most illustrious Cardinal President, see to a remedy for this vexation, so that if they think it necessary they may move as and when they wish.[80]

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[79] Kenny, *Romance of the Floridas*, 229-231. Kenny begins by absolving Menéndez from all blame for the deaths of the Segura band, because the governor was in Spain bearing "much of the burden of Spanish empire in two hemispheres." In the midst of "multitudinous toil" and "malicious machinations" Menéndez received from Pope St. Pius V a personal Brief, which "does merited justice to the Christian character and achievements of the great Adelantado." The whole letter is given, and it appears to be a sharp reprimand rather than praise.

[80] There is such great confusion in Lowery, 372-375, and Kenny who follows him, regarding dates and trips of the ships that it would take long to untangle the story. With the publication of the *Monumenta Antiquae Floridae* and Zubillaga's *La Florida* much can be cleared up regarding the Jesuits and Menéndez. There are four important letters covering this and the following three paragraphs. These are *MAF*, Docs. 129, 130, 131, 132, pages 493-519; Doc. 129, Sedeño to Polanco, from Santa Elena, Feb. 8, 1572; Doc. 130, Sedaño to Borgia, same date, same place; these are translated in "First Jesuit Mission," 112-126; Doc. 131, Rogel to Borgia, from Havana, Mar. 10, 1572; Doc. 132, Nadal (Vicar General) to Sedeño from Rome, June 20, 1572.

Affairs came to a crisis in the Spring of 1571 with the report of González and the arrival of Menéndez in Havana. Sedeño asked that a rescue party be sent to Ajacán,[80] and Menéndez promised to do so. Sedeño prepared a ship with provisions and with Menéndez's fleet sailed for San Agustín. The conditions in the fort were very bad, consequently Menéndez saw that he would need all provisions to save it. Sedeño wishing to be on to Ajacán reminded Menéndez of his promise of rescue, but the Adelantado absolutely refused to go. He said that he had been on the seas twenty-three years, knew his office and the sea very well, and considered a trip to Ajacán foolish. If Sedeño went, it would be his own responsibility and he would have to explain to the king; Menéndez would give no pilot nor soldiers. Sedeño could do nothing but conform. The supply ship was unloaded and sent back to Havana, with word to Rogel to do nothing until the following year.

The empty ship gave Rogel an idea. He has been criticized for carrying it out, even reported to Borgia as disobedient in Sedeño's letter. Instead of trying to explain away his action, writers should long ago have given him great credit. He filled that empty ship with provisions, directed its unknown captain to go to Santa Elena, obtain guides and go to the rescue of Segura. As rector at Havana he could do this. Sedeño as superior of Florida, he felt, could not forbid him to do what charity demanded. As for Menéndez's orders, they had no validity.

The ship arrived at Santa Elena in September, 1571. Shortly afterward Menéndez and Sedeño arrived. In spite of Sedeño's protests, Menéndez confiscated the supplies for his starving and sick people. He would not go to Ajacán in the Spring because he said it would be stormy there; he did not go in the Summer; and now he thought it would be foolish to go because Winter was setting in. In short, the Governor was not so concerned about Segura. So, the ship empty again went back to Rogel in Havana.

Rogel promptly filled it and sent it north. This time Brother Carrera was put in charge. Unfortunately, the ship stopped at San Agustín, and there ran into Menéndez and Sedeño who had returned from Santa Elena. This was in November when they were about to sail for Havana. Rogel's ship was ordered to join Menéndez's for the journey south. Disaster overtook them at Cape Carnaveral. The ship and supplies were lost and the other after dreadful dangers returned to San Agustín. The bad fortune continued, for fevers claimed the soldiers and Sedeño, who had been nursing the sick, and the storehouse mysteriously burned. Sedeño went to Santa Elena, where he was in February, 1572. Rogel, writing in March, says that Menéndez forced Sedeño to be the curate since there was no other priest in Florida.

While this was transpiring Rogel, active in Havana and on the estates with the slaves, received some heartening news from Rome on March 10, 1572. Borgia told him of the victory of Lepanto on October 7, 1571, and of the birth of Prince Charles in Spain. Above all was the news that Borgia had decided to send sixteen Jesuits to New Spain which was to be a new province, and Florida was to be abandoned. The newly appointed provincial was Father Pedro Sánchez and Rogel would be under his jurisdiction. In June other letters arrived telling Rogel that he was in charge at Havana in the absence of Segura and Sedeño but that the latter would be superior until the new provincial arrived. Rogel was told to find out about Segura, about whose band all were worried.[81]

Word then came from Pedro Sánchez directing Sedeño to go to Mexico to prepare a place to live for his group.[82] Sánchez left Spain on June 13, and Sedeño left Havana before June 27. Rogel was preparing for his voyage to Ajacán to find the lost Segura. For Menéndez had finally decided to make the search, especially since the officials had given a thousand ducats and three months pay from the king's treasury for thirty soldiers. He told Rogel that they would have to go to the Azores to get a pilot and the proper ship. The date for the departure from Havana was set as June 29.

When they arrived at San Agustín Menéndez changed his mind.[83] He decided to take his armada to Chesapeake Bay, more probably to find his route to China than to find the Jesuits. It was July 30 before the fleet got away from San Agustín. They delayed another five days at Santa Elena. Here they took Brothers Villarreal and

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[81] *MAF*, Doc. 133, 520-521, Nadal to Rogel, from Rome, June 20, 1572.

[82] *MAF*, Doc. 134, 521-523, Rogel to Borgia, from Havana, June 27, 1572, for the data in this paragraph.

[83] *MAF*, Doc. 135, 524-531, Rogel to Borgia, from Baía de la Madre de Dios, (Ajacán), Aug. 28, 1572. All of the writers on Florida have used this document; it is based upon what Alonso told Rogel, as regards the massacre; what has apparently muddled the previous writings has been the uncritical use of two other accounts, namely, Brother Carrera's, *MAF*, Doc. 137, 535-570, written in 1600 in Puebla, Mexico, twenty-eight years after the trip, and that of Bartolomé Martínez, written also from memory and finished in October, 1610; this is in *MAF*, Doc. 138, 573-604, and is translated in "First Jesuit Mission," 129-148, where it is signed Jaime Martínez. It would take long to unravel the knotty points, hence we follow simply what Rogel wrote as he heard it.

Carrera on board, then they went to the Baía de la Madre de Dios, as Chesapeake Bay was called.

Menéndez ordered the frigate with the thirty soldiers and the Jesuits to go up the Potomac while his three heavier ships moved up the bay. The captain of the frigate was told to capture a chief and some important Indians for questioning. This was done when the Indians were lured aboard. The frigate then sailed down the Potomac amid a shower of arrows which wounded one Spaniard. In the return fire four Indians were killed. They learned from the captives only that another chief was holding Alonso Méndez, the survivor of the Segura mission.

Three leagues from the Potomac at the mouth of the Aquia they anchored, feeling that the Indians there would gather around the frigate, as they did. These were more peaceful and more informative. They said that the chief who held Alonso lived two days away but was in turn held captive by another chief. They would be willing to go there with a ransom, and thus it was arranged. Now this second chief had seen the soldiers of the frigate shooting and was afraid to approach the ship. Secondly, he wanted to gain the favor of Menéndez, and for these reasons he promptly delivered Alonso to Menéndez who was some leagues away. Those on the frigate waited two days before deciding that they were duped. They decided to join Menéndez, and on leaving the mouth of the river had to fire on some attacking Indians, killing a number. Rogel and the Jesuits at last heard from Alonso the sad story of the deaths of their companions. He wrote it as it was told on August 28, and addressed his letter to Borgia. But St. Francis Borgia never read the account, for he died on October 1, 1572.

Menéndez, encamped on Chesapeake Bay, sent out Indian messengers to bring in the ringleaders of the massacre, especially Luis, the renegade. He threatened to execute the captives if the messengers did not return, and when they failed to do so, he held a courtmartial for a week. Those having clothing or vestments of the slain fathers were condemned to death and hanged. Rogel baptized them before the execution. As the Adelantado wished to get back before Winter they all embarked for Havana. It has been said that they were shipwrecked and marooned at Cape Carnaveral, but there is no evidence in Rogel's accounts of such a disaster. In Havana they found Sedeño awaiting them after his trip to Mexico.

Rogel could now add up the results of the five years spent in Menéndez's Florida enterprise. Seven Indians had been baptized, of whom four were dying babies; eight or ten had been baptized before execution. Seven Jesuits had given their lives; three catequists had been killed, and Alonso seems to have grown very wild and to have been sent back to Spain. Menéndez sailed out of their lives shortly after their arrival in Havana. He died two years later, September 17, 1574.

Founding a College

Sedeño, Rogel, and two lay-brothers again went to live in their straw home in Havana while waiting for further orders. They gave their time in preaching, instructing, and ministering to all classes of the city and its outskirts.[84] Then, by December, 1572, Sánchez wrote from Mexico that there seemed to be no further need of staying in Havana, hence they should all come to Mexico City. When they announced this to the people of Havana there was decided opposition to their leaving, as the following letter of one of the officials to Philip II shows:

> C. R. M. In this villa of Havana four Brothers of the Company of Jesus, two priests and two lay, have a straw house, where they have lived these four years until now; and now their General has sent an order that they should go soon to New Spain, and so they are all going and leaving their house empty, and they are doing this because they have no rental to sustain themselves. Seeing this I have organized the citizens for one year and have ordered [them to pay] 200 ducats for rent and some cassavas and meat, and I have offerred this same for the day when they start their college here. They have made great progress in this villa since coming here, and if they have a college here they will make great improvements in this Island and in Santo Domingo, in the sons of the citizens and in all the people of the island, for until now all these people have lived in great licence; if they leave here, in six days all the good which they accomplished will be lost. It is certain that in the Negroes of Your Majesty, who sustain this fort, they have implanted such belief and Christianity that it is a source of contentment to see them respond. All the people are bewailing their going. I have begged them and admonished them not to go, and they, if they could, would remain for the good of the land. But they say that by their obedience they must go and can do nothing else, and that there could be no more than ten people [sustained] in the colegio to teach, to visit the pueblos, the ranches, the estates of the island, and to preach. If Your Majesty should offer to aid with another 200 ducats from your royal treasury each year, with this and bequests of deceased they could sustain their college and bring here the sons of the islands of Jamaica and Santo Domingo, and thus there would be a growth each day in this villa. With the fleet will go a letter from the Cabildo of this villa to Rome to their General, advising him of what the citizens have asked, so that, if with the rental they

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[84] See Briceno letter below.

may have a house here, they may have it soon. Feeling that Your Majesty is served in aiding them with some rentals for this college and advising their General of those to come, all this island will receive great benefit. May Your Majesty provide that which is most conducive to your service and to the good of your vassals and citizens. May our Lord protect the Royal Person of Your Majesty and give health for many years with larger kingdoms and lands. From Havana, December 12, 1572.

FRANCISCO BRICENO.[85]

Now that this letter had been dispatched it was a question of tact with the Jesuits. They could not very well leave until an answer had been received from His Majesty. As a result they stayed in Havana for more than a year in their unsanitary house expecting, like the townsmen and the Cabildo, that the great monarch would be able to grant this small sum for their support, which was, after all, less than the salary of first class soldiers. When no reply came, Sedeño sent Rogel and Villarreal over to Mexico to inform the provincial of affairs in Cuba. They had no sooner left in the early part of 1574 than the letter of the king came to Havana.[86] His Majesty ordered them to remain in Havana, but, and this was important, said nothing about making any allowance for their support. Under these conditions it would be impossible for the Jesuits to have a decent home and support themselves in Cuba, for the people were poor. Again, Sánchez could well recall that the king gave them nothing in Mexico, where on their arrival they had to live in stables. And so Sánchez ordered Sedeño and the other brother to Mexico. By August of 1574 there were no Jesuits in Havana.[87] It is true that Sedeño returned in 1575 for another attempt lasting several years, but Rogel never again sailed the sea. He was destined, however, to found a college.

Rogel, "greatly exercised in hunger, poverty and want suffered in Florida," very probably enjoyed the fine climate of Mexico's highlands during the Summer of 1574.[88] In early December he was given a new assignment. The Bishop of Oaxaca, the third most important city of New Spain, had asked the Jesuit provincial to establish a college in his city, promising them houses and property for its support. Father Diego López and Rogel were sent south over the mountains and through the valley to investigate the possibilities.

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[85] *MAF*, Appendix I, 617-618, Briceno to Philip II, from Havana, Dec. 12, 1572.

[86] Zubillaga, *La Florida*, 423.

[87] *MAF*, 623.

[88] Ms. "Fundación de la Compañía," of Juan Sánchez Baquero, 70; (see note 36 supra).

As they arrived in the outskirts of Oaxaca after a ten day journey they found a large welcoming committee of clerics, citizens, and Indians awaiting them. The procession moved into the main street of the city amid cheers, much to their embarrassment. They were escorted to their house, and later were warmly greeted by Bishop Alburquerque. Then they were invited to preach, and before long they were approved by the people.[89]

Trouble soon came from an unexpected source. One of the Dominican fathers visited the Bishop, and told him that the house of the Jesuits was within a zone restricted to the Dominican convent. What else he said is not clear, but without any warning Rogel and López found that they would not only have to vacate the house but also that they were excommunicated! López did not wait. He left Rogel in Oaxaca in this predicament while he took the case to Mexico City. Rumors spread that Rogel was to be ejected from the house, and when the time for this arrived he found people had gathered about him to prevent the forceful removal. This encouragement was as surprising as any of the recent events.

When things seemed darkest word came by courier from the Viceroy Enríquez, the Audiencia, and Archbishop Moya that the Jesuits were privileged by the Pope and King to live or to build any place. Bishop Alburquerque now outdid himself to keep the fathers in Oaxaca. Father López never returned, for he died in the plague of 1576, but in his stead Pedro Díaz came to help Rogel. The Bishop donated some houses, which could be used as a residence and for school purposes, and a site for the college. Next they were left a bequest for the foundation of a perpetual burse for a group of students. Another donation of 300 pesos of income from an hacienda was then made. With this, and probably with some remodeling, announcement for the opening of classes could be made. Rogel was appointed Rector of the *colegio* and he welcomed the students in September, 1575, to his school of San Juan.

The construction of the new building was begun on the donated site, and near it a chapel was erected during the course of the next school year. More donations were made as the work progressed, so that by September of 1576 a larger number of students could be cared for. From then on there was question of obtaining teachers for the college. Rogel was not aware that he had founded a school that was to serve Oaxaca for 193 years. Apparently, the student body was divided into two sections, with Rogel in charge of the smaller group being boarded and educated on the first endowment and Díaz was Rector of the new establishment. By the time Rogel had completed his term of office, events had shaped a destiny for him elsewhere than in education.

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[89] Jerome V. Jacobsen, *Educational Foundations of the Jesuits in Sixteenth Century New Spain,* University of California Press and Cambridge University Press, Berkeley and London, 1938, 203-207, contains the account briefed in these paragraphs.

Final Port—Vera Cruz

Few records have been preserved which deal with the life of Rogel from the end of his rectorship at Oaxaca until his death. He had always wished to be among the Indians of North America, but the Jesuits were not permitted to go to the far north of New Spain until 1590, when Rogel had passed his sixtieth year. Instead of a missionary life he was cast into the rôle that reveals him as a great social worker, a doctor, a caretaker of public health, an instructor, and a pastor. Instead of the dangers of death at the hands of savages, he faced death from storms, plagues, yellow fever, pirates, and fires, in the port of Vera Cruz from 1579 to 1619—forty years.

How he went to Spain's port of entry to all North America is told by one who knew Rogel and lived with him, Juan Sánchez Baquero.

> All the Jesuits arriving from Europe during this time at San Juan de Ulúa and the city of Vera Cruz suffered, because on landing fatigued, wasted, and in many cases infirm after the long, hard voyage, they had no lodging nor infirmary of their own. The college of Mexico City arranged to have food sent to refresh them and to bring some [to Mexico] by mule train, but sometimes the fleet came late and other times early, owing to the uncertainties of navigation; some lost their expense money, for the fleet did not support people of the Company. All in all it was a serious inconvenience not to have there their own house, and for this reason the desire to have a residence was put into execution in this year 1579.
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> San Juan de Ulúa is the port of entry in which the fleets appear each year coming from Castile to this land. The port is constructed by hand with a sturdy wall of lime and rock ending in two forts well armed with defence artillery. It is built on a reef running east and west, in whose harbor lie the ships sheltered from the sea and from the north wind which is a furious gale in that land. The winds start at the beginning of October and last until March; they are so strong that it is held to be a great feat for any ship to reach port, and thus the fleets which arrive somewhat late are in evident danger of being lost by reason of the wind and bad condition of the port. This port is a league from the coast, and sad though it be, there is no other along the entire coast of New Spain, to the great marvel of nature and the security of the kingdom. There is a little island in the port where a church is built and where resides the curé who ministers

> to the garrisons of the forts and people from the fleet while it is there, from September to St. John's day.
>
> The city of Vera Cruz is founded on the mainland five leagues north on the banks of a fresh river, a league in from the sea, and to a landing place on this the merchandise is brought from the port on barges made to draw little water and pass over the sandbar in the river below the city. The bar is not fit for anchage since it is never in the same place; when the sea is aroused by the north gale the surf overruns the bar and forces the water of the river to enter the sea wherever they can, hence the bar changes daily. Sometimes there is enough depth for the barges to enter easily and other times only at great risk. Passing the bar they put the merchandise on other boats for a smoother journey on the shallow river to Vera Cruz, from which place they are carried to Mexico City 80 leagues journey westward by mule-cart and more commonly ox-cart.[90]

Sánchez Baquero goes on to describe the town as hot, humid, infested with mosquitoes and vermin, unsanitary, and very unhealthy. Its inhabitants were thirty dwellers who represented merchants of the highlands and bought and sold merchandise at the fairs. Negro slaves and mulattos did the labor; they were healthy in the climate. No Indian was within sixteen leagues of the sandy and unfertile site. The population would rise to 2,000 when the fleet was in port. With the wealth of Spain and Mexico being exchanged in the only place of trade and commerce, the city became a hotbed of vice, cheating, and death by fever or plague. Such was to be the scene of Rogel's work.

Because of his experience in medicine and with men of the seas he was assigned to go there with Father Alonso Guillén to find a suitable site and to build a residence. Arriving when the town was filled with traders, sailors, gamblers, slaves, and people who profit by such surroundings, they preached and begged donations for their house. When they had enough money to purchase the land a land agent tricked them into buying a plot outside the town on a difficult road. They then had to pay slave owners to get slaves to carry stone for the building. This had to be carried by cart a distance of sixty leagues from the quarry. The cost of the building was 16,000 pesos. Meantime their sermons and their caring for the sick gradually turned the minds of the crowds in their favor. They banded together to buy the padres a larger house in the city, possibly to avoid journeying on the difficult road to the crude chapel. The recently built house was then sold and with the proceeds of the sale and collections a church was erected and occupied within two years time. As their talks against vice brought many to repentence, the church was soon not large enough for the throngs, consequently they built a large auditorium, the largest in all Mexico. By the time the fleet left in the Spring of 1582, they were well established.

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[90] Ms. "Fundación de la Compañía," Chapter 27, 153 ff. Alegre, I, 148-151, bases his description on Juan Sánchez, but adds details in describing the "worst place in New Spain." He says that the Jesuits had preached there several times and as a result of this were invited by the citizens to to live in Vera Cruz.

Between the coming and going of the fleet Rogel found much to do instructing the free Negroes and slaves.[91] There were two to four thousand of these regularly employed during the eight month stay of the flota, but many were used as carriers and loaders by the merchants of Mexico. Somehow, Rogel in Cuba and in Vera Cruz developed a keen desire to aid the poor fellows in every possible way, to get better treatment from their masters, to get more rest for them, to get time for their instruction. If a complete record of his long years of work among them were left it might reveal him as one of the great colonial social workers of the Americas. Yet we have only the general statements that this help to the slaves was one of his year in and year out occupations.

Another service he rendered was the establishment of a hospital in the port of San Juan Ulúa.[92] He had to travel the five leagues down the coast to visit the soldiers of the forts and hold services for them. In 1584 he says that he spent the whole of the eight months of the fleet's stay on the island. There he had arranged a hospital for the sick. He served them as a physician until 1598 when the new city of Vera Cruz was build on the shore opposite the fortress port. Again there is no detailed record of the daily work he did during these long years, nor of the numbers he ministered to during the plagues of colic, "cramps," yellow fever, and typhoid epidemics that are known to have swept the land. Nor is there any record of his having contracted any of the diseases that took so many lives in Vera Cruz.[93]

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[91] Alegre, I, 151; Gerardo Decorme, *La Obra de los Jesuitas Mexicanos durante la época colonial,* 1572-1767, 2 Vols., Mexico, 1941, I, 24.

[92] *Ibid.* Cf. also Astrain, IV, 403, for the letter of Juan Rogel to Aquaviva, from San Juan de Ulúa, May 4, 1584. Andrés Pérez de Rivas, *Corónica y Historia Religiosa de la Compañía de Jesús de México,* 2 Vols., Mexico, 1896, II, 214; Rivas finished his history in 1652, but it was not printed until 1896; he was a contemporary of Rogel's since he arrived in Mexico in 1602; he has a long obituary of Rogel, describing in detail his religious life.

[93] Vera Cruz and San Juan de Ulúa have been described by almost every traveler who came to North America from Cortés and Narváez to the present. Richard Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations,* Glasgow, 1905, IX, 346-354, describes it as seen by the English merchant Tomson in 1558; Chilton in the same volume, 379, describes the mosquito plague. Thomas Gage, *A New Survey of the West Indies,* London, 1655, 25, describes the

If Rogel had kept a diary, for which he had no time, it would prove to be a very interesting document. He must have seen many tragedies, many calamities, many heartbreaks. He must have seen or met all of the important people coming to or leaving North America during his active years in port; viceroys, generals, admirals, captains, professors, masters, missionaries, had to stop at the port or in Vera Cruz. Those about to embark on the dangerous trip would wish to confess and those arriving would have the same desire. He spent much of his time in the confessional, hearing the confessions of soldiers, sailors, travelers, poor and rich, notables and unknowns alike.

He, like his fellow workers to the number of four in Vera Cruz, constantly tried to uproot the evil practices in the rather lawless port. Cheating, simony, revengefulness, stealing, extortion, usury, blasphemy, swearing, libertinism and homicide were vices against which there was a constant warfare from the pulpit and in the public square.[94] Vera Cruz, in other words, was similar to many of our early lawless frontier towns of the west. At one time the lords of vice attempted to place Father Guillen in a compromising situation, which, had the plan gone through, would have brought discredit upon the work of uplift in the town. Through Rogel's instruction and urging many enmities were patched up, many injustices were repaired, many of those inclined to vice were reformed. Kindness, humanitarianism, and security gradually replaced the feelings of fear and distrust in Vera Cruz, and because of this more people were willing to remain there.

Another event aided in the development of the city. Every year some merchant or other would lose his goods during the transfer by barge, and the twelve mile trip might easily mean a loss of life. When an entire cargo was lost in the last mile after its long voyage from Spain, the officials decided to desert the old town and move to a site directly west of the port.[95] Thus, in 1598, San Juan de Ulúa and Vera Cruz were made one, though separated by two miles of

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hurricanes, as does Baron Von Humboldt, *Political Essay on the Kingdom of New Spain*, John Black translation, London, 1814, I, 85. and p. 132 calls Vera Cruz the "principal seat of yellow fever." Charles Chapman, *Colonial Hispanic America*, New York, 1935, 132, mentions the loss in 1601 of fourteen ships with their immensely rich cargo and more than a thousand men at Vera Cruz. H. H. Bancroft, *History of Mexico*, San Francisco, 1883, III, 26, says that Vera Cruz got the title of a city in 1615, and mentions the fires; and in III, 179, has a word about the tidal wave of 1665.

[94] Alegre I, 151.

[95] This calamity mentioned by Juan Sánchez, must have preceded the one mentioned by Chapman (see note 93) as happening in 1601.

sea. The inhabitants, however, made the mistake of building the houses of wood, since they wanted to avoid the delay and expense of cutting and hauling stone a great distance. The Jesuits of course had to move with the town, and Rogel, now seventy years of age but as active as ever, had to watch another residence being built. All felt safer from the dangers of the waves, but in 1606 they felt less safe because a fire burned some of the stores and goods before it could be stopped. Two years later another fire took part of the city, but apparently the new residence and church of the Jesuits made of planks survived.[96] The citizens again, rather than the king or officials, rebuilt their town and continued by their contributions to support their pastors and the church.

News of worldwide importance reached Vera Cruz while Rogel was there. Spain acquired control of Portugal and all of her colonies in 1580 and thereby ruled over the East Indies, part of India, Africa, North and South America, and the West Indies. In the eighth year of her rule the Spanish Armada was defeated. The English arrived at Jamestown, the French at Quebec as Rogel approached his eightieth year.

Through these and many stirring times he continued his daily work as the padre of the port, visiting the ships one by one as they arrived, winning people of all classes by his kindness, becoming a father to all, the poor, the slaves, the infirm.[97] Frequently he went without rest day and night in attending to his duties. As he came to be the ancient of the Jesuit Province of New Spain he was held in veneration by the increasing number of citizens; in fact he was known as the "angel of the port." When it seemed that he should be retired, the people would not let his superiors move him to a better climate, nor would they allow any other to be put in his place. In the last years of his life his infirmities would not permit him to continue his activities outside the house. Inside he moved about doing what he could to help with small details. In this manner then Juan Rogel reached his ninetieth year and the January of 1619. His passing and the tributes of gratitude paid to his memory by the entire city of Vera Cruz is best told by Alegre.

> His death was preceded by the ruin of the house and church in Vera Cruz when nearly the entire city was destroyed by fire in the first days of that year [1619]. The convents of Santo Domingo and La Merced were burned. The fire had already passed our house without much damage, but

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[96] The fire of 1606 is mentioned by Juan Sánchez, and that of 1608 by Bancroft, *History of Mexico,* III, 11.

[97] Pérez de Rivas, *Corónica,* II, 211-216; see n. 92 above.

eight barrels of gunpowder which were burning in the house of a merchant sent pieces of the roof and house flying in all directions. They set fire to the house and church and the fire was fanned by such a strong north wind that nothing could be saved but the Blessed Sacrament and Padre Juan Rogel, who because of his advanced age of ninety years had to be carried in the arms of two Jesuits and placed in the home of an honored citizen . . . an old penitent of his. The padres went to see him daily, not forgetting the very holy man because he was in a house apart from them. On the 19th [of January] they noticed that he moved about the whole house with extreme happiness and with the countenance of an angel. Seated for dinner at the table with his host, he suddenly arose, joined his hands, raised his eyes to heaven and then turning them to his benefactor who stared in astonishment, without speaking a word or giving any sign of care or anxiety, he closed his eyes and gave his soul to the Creator. The loss of the city was valued at two million pesos, wrote the rector of that *colegio,* but above this it was felt that the greater loss was that of a man so apostolic as Padre Juan Rogel and of such unusual virtue and holiness as to be counted among the most notable men whom the Company has ever had.[98]

ROSEMARY RING GRIFFIN

Chicago

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[98] Alegre, II, 115.

Baegert Pictures a Lower California Mission

On the eastern coast of the long, thin, and misshapen peninsula called Lower California, about one-third north from its tip, sleeps the little settlement of Loreto, ancient mission center of the Black Robes. Here the first permanent mission on this rock-ridden and barren land was set up in 1697 by the Jesuit Juan María Salvatierra. Back of Loreto and for a hundred miles north and south along the coast there rise the pointed peaks, the corrugated bastions, and the sharp flanks of the rocky "Giantess," the Sierra de la Giganta. During the eighteenth century a rough and precipitous trail threaded south and then west from the mission center of Loreto, leading over a pass of the jagged chain and down into the mission of San Javier Viggé. Going on almost directly south from here, over desolate spurs and lava-strewn humps of the "Giantess's" feet and toes, the traveler arrives at the ancient mission site of San Luis Gonzaga. Referred to only casually by the early Jesuit historians, it remained for its second missionary, the realistic, the energetic, the somewhat arrogant Johann Jakob Baegert, to leave to posterity a minutely detailed and graphic picture of the old foundation set down in the midst of the desert.

The Alsatian Baegert never realized, we suppose, that a long letter he sent to his brother dated from San Luis September 11, 1752, would be to the future historians of the Lower California missions a pride and a joy. A year plus seven days were required for this lengthy missive to reach the city of Schlettstadt on the River Ili, tributary to the Rhine. On the banks of this stream classical Schlettstadt lies between Strasburg north and Colmar south and but a few miles away from each.[1] Here on September 18, 1753, Jesuit Baegert's Capuchin brother, Father Stanislaus Baegert, received a letter from the rim of Christendom, from Lower California's San Luis Gonzaga. The Capuchin kept his Jesuit brother's letter, of course, and happily a quarter century later, either the original or a copy got into the hands of the editors of the Alsatian periodical, the *Patriotischen Elsasser* of Strasburg and Colmar. In its columns the letter of the Lower California missionary was published during the course of the year 1777.[2]

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[1] Schlettstadt achieved fame during the later Middle Ages and early modern times through its school of the Brethren of the Common Life. Here the noted German humanist, Jacob Wimphiling (1450–1528), was educated.

The ancient site of mission San Luis Gonzaga forms an almost perfect triangle, obtuse from north to south, between the position of Loreto and that of La Paz. It lies seventy-five miles from both, as the crow flies, is twenty-five miles from the gulf waters, and about forty from the Pacific coast off Magdalena Bay. The nearest mission, almost directly east, was Dolores on the gulf. The main trail to San Luis was the one just described southwest from Loreto through the pass to San Javier and then on almost directly south. The journey from San Javier to San Luis according to Baegert required thirty hours.

San Luis was begun shortly after 1721 by the hard-working Clemente Guillén as an outpost or *visita* of mission Nuestra Señora de los Dolores on the gulf coast, but it received its first permanent missionary, the German Father Lambert Hostell, only in 1737, and so became a mission in its own right.[3]

Hostell resided at San Luis for many years before Baegert came and was probably the Alsatian's only predecessor in the mission. He had baptized 1,748 Indians. Many of these died, of course, so that by 1745 San Luis had a baptized population of but 310, which seven years later had risen to 360, the figures Baegert gives, and he says that at his arrival there were ninety married couples, thirty widows or widowers, and the rest were children.[4] The little mission in the mid-eighteenth century had two *visitas* or mission stations (the Alta California *assitencia* of the Franciscans), one called Juan Nepomuceno and the other San María Magdalena on the shores of Magdalena Bay. Baegert, however, says that his people were divided into three groups, north and east and west.

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[2] The title of the published letter which seems to have appeared in pamphlet form is as follows: *Brief eines Elsassers aus Californien in Nord Amerika an seinen Bruder in Schlettstadt (1752) von Pater Jakob Bägert d. G. J. aus dem Patriotischen Elsasser,* Strasburg und Colmar, 1777. A photostatic copy of this printed letter has been procured by Dr. Herbert Eugene Bolton and now belongs to the Bancroft Library of the University of California. Bolton had the printed and photographed document translated into English from the German by Mary J. Price.

[3] Cf. Miguel Venegas, *Noticia de la California y de su Conquista Temporal y Espiritual hasta el tiempo presente,* 3 vols. Madrid, 1754, II, 376 ff., and Francisco Xavier Clavigero, *Storia della California,* Venetia, 1789 III, ch. 12. Clavigero errs about the date of foundation, however; while Baegert himself says that San Luis was founded thirty-seven or thirty-eight years before his writing of 1752. But he is plainly mistaken, for at that time Guillén had not yet established the mother mission of Dolores on the coast. San Luis Gonzaga was the last establishment before the founding of the more famous San Ignacio in the north. Clavigero has been translated into Spanish and into English. The former edition is entitled *Historia de la Antigua ó Baja California* tr. Don Nicolás García de San Vicente, Méjico, 1852. The English translation was done by Sara E. Lake and A. A. Gray with the title *The History of* [*Lower*] *California,* Stanford University Press, 1937. A new edition of Venegas' *Noticia de la California....* has recently appeared in three volumes, Mexico, L. Álvarez y Álvarez de la Cadena, 1943-1944.

When the realistic and (so far, at least, as the Indians were concerned) pessimistic and unsympathetic Alsatian Baegert arrived in California he was thirty-three years of age, for he had been born on December 22, 1717, in Schlettstadt. He was but eighteen when he entered the Jesuit novitiate of the Province of the Upper Rhine. Unlike many another missionary, he had finished his studies and had gone through his third year of probation before sailing for the New World.

November 16, 1750 marked the date of the California missionary's departure from the capital of New Spain to begin the last lap of his long journey from Europe to Lower California. And for the man of the mid-twentieth century a picturesque departure it was. Nine other Black Robes accompanied Baegert and they rode out from Mexico City on horseback or were mounted on mules. Seven of the priests were Germans. A train of twenty pack-animals followed carrying the missionaries' baggage. There were also drivers and the fathers' servants. Travel, as life, moved more slowly then. It was a month and three days before the party reached Guadalajara. They journied soldier-like, says Baegert, four, five, or six hours a day, except when it was necessary to reach a watering place before the day's end, when they would be on the road eight or maybe ten hours. Almost another month passed before they had threaded the precipitous trails of the deep-cloven barranca country north and east of Guadalajara to arrive at Tepic on the western coast. Then they trudged north passing through the pueblos of the olden Jesuit mission system of the mainland which had been started in 1591 by Fathers Tapia and Méndez. The ever observant Baegert looked at the mission churches and took note of the country, but the enthusiasm of this burly realist was nowhere aroused. At Mocorito was the only church of stone and cement he had seen since leaving Tepic. He remarks on the flimsy quality of the villages and the thinness of the population. Through Culiacán, Mocorito, Sinaloa, Los Álamos he passed on his way, doubtless to the port of Yaqui, for on March 28 he was at Torin on the northern bank of that river and near its mouth. Perhaps he went on a little farther to Guaymas and from there embarked upon the waters of the gulf. His companions of the first stages were shed one by one, for they were destined either for Guadalajara or for the coastal missions of the mainland, so that only two other padres crossed the gulf with Baegert.

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[4] The 1745 figures are found in the *Informe que por orden del rey, envió el P. Prov. Cristóbal de Escobar, a fecha de 30 de noviembre 1745.* Provincial Escobar instructed Antonio Balthasar, Visitor to California, to gather in the information for this report. The Visitor did so by ordering each missionary to send in to him the necessary figures and other information. Venegas, Clavigero, Engelhardt, Decorme and others give a synopsis.

If the missionary's journey from Mexico City had been slow and not luxurious, neither was his passage of the gulf. May 7 he pushed off in a dugout, or canoe, made of a hollowed tree trunk. It was nine yards long and but a yard and a half wide. Baegert had his misgivings in stepping into this clumsy affair, but he did so willingly, for "it was what had been provided by the Father Visitor." The bulky little craft had a sail which was used sometimes; at other times rowing was resorted to. They had fair going, for the season of the wild and cyclonic *chubasco* would not begin until the following month. In two and one-half days the party stood before Loreto and were greeted by a salvo from the presidial guns. Two weeks were spent in visiting two of the nearer missions and then on May 26, accompanied by one soldier and a few Christian Indians, Baegert on horseback took the trail which led southwest from Loreto over the Sierra de la Giganta to San Javier and then on south to San Luis. The journey was of two days with slow plodding over the uneven trail.

Our missionary's first impressions of the country and its people, of the hard, dry land of his adoption, were not favorable, nor were they going to be changed during the seventeen years he was destined to live upon California's rocks. His last and much longer report, written after his return to Europe and published in 1772, was of a piece with this his first letter.[5] Listen to the realistic report to his brother: "What is California?—From top to bottom and from coast to coast it is nothing else than a thorny heap of stones, or a pathless, waterless rock, rising between two oceans; consequently, as one might expect, it is desolate and almost without inhabitants . . . . I often say in jest, either California is without exception the most miserable country under the sun or if an equally miserable or worse country was ever discovered by the Argonauts, then California was used by the Almighty Creator as a model for making it . . . . California is nothing but mountains and valleys. There are perhaps a few level places to be found, but they are negligible in comparison with the endless mountains, cliffs, and rocks." And then he tells us that "the continuous sun glare and the absence of greenery is . . . . bad on the eyes."

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[5] Cf. *Nachrichten von der Amerikanischen Halbinsel Californien, mit einem zweyfachen Anhang falscher Nachrichten,* Mannheim, 1772. This important work has been translated into English by Charles Rau under the title *An Account of the Aboriginal Inhabitants of the California Peninsula,* Washington, The Smithsonian Institution, 1863-1864, and recently into Spanish by Pedro R. Hendrichs as *Noticias de la Peninsula Americana de California,* Mexico, José Porrúa e Hijos, 1942.

This impression could well be made while the padre was on his way from Loreto to his mission, for the pass over the "Giantess" is steep and sharp with declivitous rocks and the country south and west of the sierra rolls in hardened humps until it levels off into the arid and cactus-ridden wastes of the Magdalena plain. Baegert found his mission situated in the bed of a waterless arroyo and closed in on three sides by hills which rose about a league distant. He descended to the mission site to find it watered by a single spring or water hole thirty or forty feet in diameter. From it, however, there was no flow, and he later found out that the tiny trickle from the spring of the neighboring mission was lost immediately in the hot rocks. This mission, his nearest contact with his confrères, he tells us, lay six hours' travel east. It was Dolores on the coast and was administered at the time by Father Schwartz. The latter had the thoughtfulness to send Baegert at his arrival a present of some wild grapes, pomegranites, and oranges.

But all of this was only the beginning of desolation. Had Baegert been a less sturdy individual and less practical he might have suffered heavy desolation of spirit and have needed to seek consolation and rest in the company of an older and neighboring missionary, such as had been the case with Pícolo when he first went to his mission of Cárichic in the Tarahumar country of the mainland.[6] But the strong-minded German seems to have undergone no such discouragement in spite of the desolation of the land he had come to, the hardships of his journey to San Luis, and the broken-down state of his mission which he saw when he arrived.

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[6] Francisco María Pícolo served his missionary apprenticeship in Tarahumara. It is recorded of him that in the early days of his labors in Cárichic he suffered such great desolation and loneliness with a sense of frustration (for he could not understand the Indians, nor they him) that he went over to stay a few days with Francisco de Arteaga in his mission at Nonoava. Arteaga consoled the young Pícolo, said the same had happened to him when first he arrived among the wild Tarahumares, and that he too had gone to seek solace with a near-by and older padre. Cf. *Carta del P. Provincial Juan Antonio Balthassar, en que da noticia de la exemplar vida, religiosas virtudes, y apostólicos trabajos del fervoroso Missionero el Venerable P. Francisco María Pícolo.* Mexico, Dec. 23, 1752.

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It appears, though we have no record of it, that Father Hostell, Baegert's predecessor, had vacated the mission some time before his successor's arrival, for this is what the latter saw: a small church which had recently fallen during a storm, an unplastered hut with thatched roof and two doors but no windows, another hut so lightless that Baegert called it a cave. The padre knew how far he was from any contact, not only with his fellow missionaries, but with any human beings. For thirty hours' travel north, reports the missionary, for fifty hours' south, no rational being was to be found. When he did see human beings they were his spiritual charges, the Indians of the Guaicura tribe, and he was not the least bit enthusiastic about them, neither about their appearance, their habits, or their qualities of mind or heart. He refers repeatedly to their very dark or almost black color, to their untidiness, their lack of all dependability, and their dirt. "They never wash," writes the padre, "except in urine, they never work except when one stands behind them with a stick, and they throw themselves down to sleep wherever night overtakes them." Once he refers to his charges as "black mouse-heads," and he avers: "It is positively true . . . . that this handful of black unwashed people are human in nothing but shape and mind, or rather the only thing which distinguishes them from animals is that they have no horns." Such depreciation of his neophytes is but a prelude to what he wrote of them in his *Nachrichten* after his return to Europe.[7] Nor was this all. The missionary soon discovered that though the country inland was almost completely wanting in bird life, "except for a few turtle doves who sigh over California's misery," it swarmed with insects of all kinds, large and small, poisonous or

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[7] Carlos Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, Brussels, 1890, I, 2, states that one of Baegert's purposes in composing the *Nachrichten* was to refute certain passages of Venegas's *Noticia de California*, which he probably considered too optimistic. Sommervogel cites the *Journal Encyclopedique*, 1773, t. II, pp. 531 et seq. Tall tales about Californian missionary wealth, luxury, and hidden treasure were circulating through the Bourbon courts of Europe when Baegert published his *Nachrichten* in 1772, when pressure was being brought upon Pope Clement XIV to follow the national suppressions in Portugal, France, and Spain by a papal suppression. This drastic step was taken by the Pope in 1773. But we think that in his letter of 1752, twenty years before the above events, it is probable that the missionary had no such purpose in mind, yet his letter is as derogatory of the country and its inhabitants as the writings later in the *Nachrichten*. The Alsatian was naturally pessimistic and arrogant. Stalwart Teuton that he was, he did not possess the more humane sympathies and the high spiritual enthusiasm of some of his Latin predecessors. Ursula Schaeffer in a brief study of the *Nachrichten*, MID-AMERICA, XX (July, 1938) 151-163, agrees with the *Journal Encyclopedique*, and it is true that the second appendix of Baegert's work refutes with severity what the author considers the errors of his Jesuit predecessor Venegas concerning California.

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harmless, as the case might be, and with reptiles of a wide variety both as to size and menace. Rats, mice, toads, and other nuisances came to pester him right in his abode. Once a horned toad dropped down upon him from the ceiling of his hut. He gave it no name, but he describes it accurately and says it was not a lizard. Mice ran around his room and walls even in broad daylight and they nearly chewed his covers to bits. Bats paid him a visit from time to time, and a black snake, said by the natives to be the most poisonous of all, slithered into his dwelling. Once while eating at table he discovered a centipede crawling on his shoulder; another time he found one such beast slumbering between the covers of his bed. Every day after sunset he had one of his Indian boys try to keep the toads from entering his room. But "they hop about everywhere," says he, and they got in regardless. "*Dis ist ja sehr lustic, nicht wahr!* (This is right merry, is it not!)" Scorpions were his visitors too, and he even had as guests from time to time a gigantic and horrifying type of insect, the bristling and dangerous tarantula. These called on Baegert and they were to be encountered outside by the thousands. The padre swears the beast had hair as thick as a camel's.

All of this and more within his first sixteen months of residence is what the psychologically stalwart Alsatian found in the interior of the rock-ridden peninsula, yet never a whimper about himself, only disgust, apparently, with his charges, the native Californians. Indeed towards the end of this letter to his Capuchin brother in Schlettstadt he says that not once has he regretted coming to this wasted spot of earth "and I do not see how I could regret it, I live so happily." He adds that since he left Bouquenon in Lorraine he had not been "sick for an hour, nor sad for a minute." No attack of nostalgia seems to have troubled him, nor was he curious about what was going on in Europe. Five soldiers were resident at the mission, he informs his brother. If these had their families the place was livened a bit.

With characteristic energy and practicality the missionary set to work refitting his dingy and delapidated quarters. He chose one of the two huts, the one he described as a darksome cave, for his dwelling and proceeded, doubtless with the aid of the soldiers and a few Indians, to render it lightsome and habitable. He knocked two windows into its sides, covered the skeleton of the roof with home-made tiles, rough-cast the inner walls (there was lime in the vicinity), and whitewashed the exterior. He whitewashed the inside of his bedroom too and covered the floor with flagstones found in the district. To be serviceable all they needed was shaping and smoothing. The windows had no glass, of course, for even in the mainland this luxury was absent from the outlying mission districts, which explains the presence in his apartments of the odd or dangerous visitors who sometimes wandered in.

The padre and his guard must subsist too. Therefore it might be good to try to wring some produce from the hard and stubborn soil. He managed, by what means he does not describe, to draw a stream from the mission spring or water-hole and to have it flow through a conduit upon a tiny plot which he would create into a truck garden. Soon he was planting turnips, cabbage, melons, including the watermelon, and came to raising a little patch of sugarcane.

The September after his arrival he sowed wheat and corn. Because of the almost continuous warmth of the climate it was possible under favorable circumstances to gather in two harvests of corn a year. Wheat will ripen in January, grapes in July. But during Baegert's first year times were not good. The soil was salty, says he, and there was no rain, while the supply of water from the spring was very slight. Therefore he "scraped together a very meager harvest." Nor did his truck garden with its vegetables and melons dc well.

Nature intervened, however, to lighten the missionary's burden. Among the inexhaustible varieties of Lower California cactus was the fruit-bearing *pitahaya,* which produces the prickly-pear. There were two varieties of such on the mission lands, and Baegert describes both minutely. After telling of one species he writes: "On these crazy plants grows a fruit which is also green and has no end of small prickles on the outside skin, which is about the size of a hen's egg. If you take off the thorns and open the shell a round fruit rolls out. Sometimes it is bright red, sometimes dark red, but it is full of black seeds like poppy seeds. Its quality is acrid and cannot be surpassed by any European fruit I know of." This ripens in November or December. But the favorite of the Indians, and of the padre too, it seems, was the sweet variety of prickly-pear which begins to ripen in June, whose season lasted for about two months. The trunk of this cactus is higher than the other, says he, and "as thick as my arm or head and forked from top to bottom. . . . . On the sides of the forks a million thorns appear in high relief." The fruit is one half the size of that just described, but "it is sweet and either white or red." This ripened fruit the Indians called *acubia,* which in their language also signified year or era, for they measured time from one season of the ripened *acubia* to the other. It was then that the Indians lived well and filled themselves up with the fruit while the season lasted. "O what a blissful time it is!" exclaims the missionary. "The poor Indian thinks that then paradise with all its joys, the paradise we preach to him about, has moved to California."

Our Baegert, like his Indians, enjoyed these two varieties of prickly-pear. "For myself I make the most of these two kinds of fruit. I pour wine over them on a china plate and pretend that I am eating strawberries or something even better in my own dear country." In the padre's narrow dining-room this fruit seasoned with wine doubtless made a fine dessert for his usual meal of goat's meat savored with drippings of animal fat, which was served up to him upon a platter of "Canton porcelain" as he sat at a cedar table.

The padre here, with characteristic realism, describes a habit of his neophytes connected with the more tart variety of cactus fruit which he had described as of dark red in its edible fruit and full of black seeds like those of the poppy. These poor children of the wild, the missionary's shaggy parishioners, went through this annual custom: After gorging themselves with the fruit they saved their human excrement and allowed it to dry. Then with infinite pains they picked from the caked mass the minute seeds which had not been digested and when they had got a sufficient number they mashed them in water and made a paste or porridge. This noisome concoction they again devoured as an exceptional delicacy. The Spanish soldiers resident in the peninsula knew of this Indian custom and made a joke of the practice, calling it in rather pungent humor the *secunda cosecha,* or the second harvest. Baegert after describing the practice exclaims: "Oh, what a nation this is, miserable and indescribable beyond compare!"[8]

The Black Robe describes also the well-known but bizarre giant cactus of Mexico and the southwest United States, called by Mexicans the *saguaro* or *cardón.* Baegert says accurately that it raises from the ground like a veritable pillar or beam in its thickness and height. "The prickly shell [of its fruit] is as yellow as gold, but the fruit [itself] is a rich red." More modern observers of the peninsula have marked the odd habits of this thorny pillar rising straight from the ground to a height of forty or fifty feet. From its main shaft other smaller branches spring and curve upwards. In the joints or in holes the fish-hawk often makes its nest. Another type of cactus, which made up the chief food of the Indians, is for the amateur more difficult to identify from the padre's description. "It has a long rounded top," he writes, "the leaves and branches are from one-half a yard to one yard long, narrowing towards the end into a dark brown spike. On both sides of the leaves at the extreme ends are funny little thorns and prickles." The Indians took fibre from this cactus, but its top they baked for twenty-four hours, partly in fire and partly in hot ashes or between hot stones. This "is the staple food of the Indian. It is quite good to eat. Sometimes the Indians give me a piece and I eat it with much pleasure when I cannot get any other fruit." Baegert called this plant *messiale,* the Indians *kenei.* When it ripens the Indians chew it and "suck the juice out, as the people of Bamberg do with licorice. What the grown-ups spit out is picked up by the children who suck it over again." These Indians, adds the padre, "can even digest earth, the thin kind of earth which is found where a swamp is drying up."

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[8] This portion of the letter Baegert had written in Latin. Other Latin passages the editors of the *Patriotischen Elsasser* put into German, but this they dared not, saying: ". . . . we did not venture to translate this passage, for truthfully we did not know how to do it with decency and yet with sufficient clearness."

The new-comer to Lower California had good luck with his little patch of sugar-cane. The latter, he wrote his brother in September (1752), had yielded the past February sixteen hundredweight of brown or unrefined sugar, and, as each hundredweight brought in sixteen pesos (the writer calls them florins) on the Mexican market, the thrifty padre realized the mite of an income from his microscopic plantation, namely, 256 pesos.

From the disposition of the mission's sugar-cane the modern reader can learn something of the economy of mission San Luis Gonzaga and of the other establishments. At Loreto, the coastal mission center and port of entry, a storehouse of provisions of various kinds was in charge of two Jesuit brothers "who calculate and distribute the pay of the soldiers and sailors all through the year." The barter system prevailed during these primitive times and therefore pay was in kind. So Baegert transported this the produce of the first crop of his sugar-cane to Loreto and there received provisions equivalent to the value of his sixteen hundredweight of brown sugar in goods which were valued at 256 pesos. These provisions he carried back to his mission and made it over to his four cowboys, or cowherds as he calls them, as a portion of their yearly pay. Their full salary was 340 pesos a year. As the cattle often wandered a thirty hours' journey from the mission, each cowboy must be mounted. The Indians would do this work free of charge, says the padre, but they are unfit for this responsibility. The poor natives seem to have been good for not much. But if the soldiers and sailors engaged in California were smart, trade with the Indians, as everywhere else in colonial America, could have brought in a profit of a thousand per cent, because, states the padre, the men will give a dozen skins for a pair of pants which is worn to shreds in a month.

To continue with the economic conditions, the sixty soldiers resident in the peninsula for the protection of the fathers were paid by the King a salary of eight hundred pesos yearly, and for the expense thus put upon the royal exchequer the Black Robe thinks there was not much return. He praises Their Catholic Majesties for their generosity of supporting the two presidios of California, each with a quota of thirty soldiers most of whom were scattered among the various mission centers. "If the money which California has cost the King from the beginning, as well as the endowment and interest [of the Pious Fund]," writes the missionary, "were divided among the families living in California, they and their descendants could become knights of the Holy Roman Empire and drive about in carriages in the Watterau. Happiness and long life to Ferdinand VI, and to Philip of Anjou eternal rest!" But the severe Baegert does not think highly of the presidial soldiers. In sarcasm he refers to them as warriors, and then adds that they are "really nothing more than patrols. Twelve French carabiniers could make mince-meat of them." True, a silver mine had been discovered a few years before his arrival, but its yield was slight.[9]

The missionaries in Lower California (thirteen in 1752 distributed among twelve missions) were supported from the income of the landed property bequeathed the missions and which is known in history as the Pious Fund. Whereas the court of Madrid supported the missionaries of the mainland by a yearly salary of five hundred pesos, the California fathers had to rely solely on their own produce and upon the income of the Pious Fund. The latter used to be two thousand a year, says Baegert, but at his time it had dropped to only eight hundred for each mission. Produce of the missions was sold in Mexico by the Jesuit "procurator" and with the revenue thus realized goods were bought in Mexico's capital and carried to

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[9] The mine was called Real de San Antonio and lay thirty-five miles south of La Paz.

California. Each year a long mule-train trudged slowly out of Mexico City, carrying cloth, linen, tobacco, and all other necessary or useful articles and provisions for the Lower California missions. Provision of food was gathered on the coast, and Matanchel was the ordinary port of embarkation. Although every nook and cranny of the meager California soil was cultivated a sufficient amount of corn, wheat, and beans could not be raised to support the sixty soldiers of the mission guard, their families, and the other help or servants of the mission—the sailors, the cowboys, Indians who sometimes worked for a wage, and the sick. Therefore, transport boats crossed the gulf several times each year to buy and carry back to the peninsula about one thousand sacks of grain, meat, and sugar. Horses and mules also made part of the cargo.[10]

We gather thus that Baegert's establishment had animals. Indeed a small herd ranged on the stony slopes and sandy arroyos of mission San Luis Gonzaga, and the letter which the padre wrote his brother offers good details concerning it. San Luis possessed at the missionary's arrival a herd of four hundred goats and sheep and seven hundred cows, and we gather indirectly that there were horses and mules. The cowboys had plenty of work with the larger animals. Though the sheep and goats were often kept in corrals, the cattle would wander sometimes a thirty hours' journey from the mission. Baegert was astounded at the manner in which the animals had accommodated themselves to the sparse and prickly vegetation of cactus-ridden California. They would consume a thorny cactus as if it were a burrless morsel of luscious hay and they would devour thorns which were half the size of a human finger and so hard and brittle that they would splinter like glass.

The climate was hard on the animals, however. During the course of his first year's residence the padre had to turn his goats and sheep three times into new pastures, yet so scanty was the feed that the animals perished by the dozens. For two months Baegert lived on milk porridge, for the animals were collapsing from exhaustion and the cattle and horses were often in danger of death from lack of fodder and drink. Nevertheless, the herds were maintained in spite of all difficulties during Baegert's earlier years, for meat was necessary for better human sustenance, especially for the sick.

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[10] However, the more interested Bourbon kings, beginning with Philip V in 1701, came to the aid of the missions from time to time by extraordinary disbursements. For instance, in 1717, the year of Salvatierra's death, the Viceregal Government paid out 5,888 to cover Salvatierra's last and lethal journey to Guadalajara, his litter and doctor bills, and some debts he had contracted in the interest of the missions. In 1718 the Government paid 4,000 pesos for the purchase of a new boat for California needs, two years later 3,509 for another craft, and in 1723 the Viceroy stood the expenses of the careening and refitting of still another California transport which had been mauled by a storm. Cf. Official Records, *Californias,* años Guaicura language is given. The following examples are taken both from the *Nachrichten* and from the letter of 1752.

When the missionary went on sick calls he always carried some fresh meat with him and a flask of fresh water to resuscitate the energies of those who were ill. For such occasions he had a fine horse and he enjoyed the saddle. It was Baegert's predecessor, the German Lambert Hostell of Munster, who began the breeding of animals. This became necessary because the income accruing from the Jesuit estates of the mainland, namely, the foundations of the Pious Fund, had declined, as we have seen. The cows, too, furnished butter in some of the other missions, but not in San Luis. Evidently here the practical Alsatian met his Waterloo, for he says that nobody knew how to make butter and nobody cared whether he had it or not. But the time came when Baegert felt he had to allow his herds to dwindle and disappear. Depredations by Indians, both of his mission and of others, began to take constant toll of the animals and this, plus the other difficulties of maintaining them, led Baegert after eight years' residence to the decision of allowing the animals to die out.[11]

Our padre during the first sixteen months' residence among his neophytes had already attained a good knowledge of their language, nor was it hard, for their words were few. Twenty years later back in Europe he goes into interesting detail about the traits or lack of traits of the native tongue.[12] In the *Nachrichten* he states with some sarcasm: "It is easy to imagine what kind of mellifluous language, rich in words and abounding in sonorous phrases, can be spoken by a people who have no political organization, no religion, no idea of authority or law; who live without honor and without shame and without clothing or habitation . . . ." Therefore, Baegert writes his brother, they have no abstract words, none which pertain to social or civic life. They lack all numbers from six to ten and beyond, so that "nobody knows how many fingers he has on both hands together, much less how old he is." They have no relative conjunctions; no words like "that," "but," "if," "then." Much less can they express or grasp any figurative language. Therefore when the missionary put the Christian prayer, the Angelical Salutation, commonly called the "Hail Mary," into their tongue he shortened the words "fruit of thy womb" to the simple "your child."

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[11] *Nachrichten,* III, ch. 6.

[12] *Nachrichten,* II, ch. 10, where a most interesting description of the 1717 ff. Photostatic copies in the Bolton Collection.

In the *Nachrichten* we find amusing instances of how these poor people showed themselves apt at coining words for things they had never seen until the missionary came among them. They called bread "light," iron "heavy," a gun they called a bow, and the name they gave to cattle was deer. A Spanish captain was the savage or the cruel one. Since they had no comparative form for adjectives, if they wanted to say "John is taller than Johnnie" they put it this way: "Johnnie is small and only John is big." In many instances concerning the teaching of the Christian doctrine it was necessary in order to avoid clumsy circumlocutions to use a word taken from the Spanish. The verb organization was only for the past, present, and future of the indicative mood and there was wanting a passive voice. In short, writes the padre, they have a language with only three dozen words in it. "If foxes could talk they would use far more words and phrases than the Californians do."

It will not seem surprising then that the industrious German missionary by the time he wrote his intriguing letter had during the sixteen months from his arrival translated the Christian doctrine into the Guaicura tongue almost without help. He compressed the Christian doctrine into thirty-five articles which covered five sheets of paper. In the *Nachrichten* Baegert offers the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed as spoken in the native language, explaining that many Spanish words had to be inserted to fill up what could not be expressed in Guaicura. He mentions twenty-five Spanish words which were a necessary addition to the native language if civilized and Christian ideas were to be expressed. Among these were the following: God, holy, church, spirit; bread, cross, virgin and lord. Baegert offers too an example of the meager conjugation of the verb.

In this thin and threadbare Guaicura tongue instruction was constantly going on. Insistent repetition of the prayers and of the Christian doctrine was necessary, explains the missionary to his brother, lest the natives forget everything, for they were mentally indolent. "Some did not have good will and could have learned better if they would." As was quite usual in the Lower California missions, and throughout the mission system generally, the natives were trained after their first conversion and baptism to come in periodically to the mission center from their outlying villages or *rancherías.*

We have mentioned the three groups of north, east, and west respectively, whom Baegert cared for spiritually. Each group, he says, was divided into several tribes. The three larger divisions came into the mission in turns and rotation, so that each one visited San Luis and its padre every three or four weeks. One group arrived with bag and baggage and camped for about a week at San Luis. When this departed another came and so the routine went on. The order of the day was simple enough. Mass was celebrated the first thing in the morning. After the ceremony and still within the church the padre led his neophytes in the recitation from memory of the main points of the Christian doctrine and he followed this up by an explanation of some particular truth which he chose for the instruction of that day. Once out of church the Indians made for the hills and the arroyos in their perennial quest for food. At sundown they returned to their camp at the mission and had another repetition of the Christian doctrine. If some wanted to work, the padre had chores for them and would pay them in food. For this purpose ground corn mixed with water, the classical *pozole*, was cooked in a large caldron. No salt was used and (Baegert's frequent remark) it was full of dirt. But to the shaggy Lower Californian this porridge was a luxury nevertheless, and those who had worked received at the day's end their portion, one-half a *sester*. Some received their portion in a turtle shell which was uncleansed and may have just been put to such menial tasks as the carrying of manure. Those who have a turtle shell are the wealthy ones, usually from the west coast, who lived well on the fish they caught. Some received their pozole in a cow's horn. Others had nothing in which to take their pay, and so would wait until their more fortunate tribesmen had finished and would then borrow from them the container.

Our missionary is as pessimistic concerning the religion and salvation of his neophytes as he is about other matters. He tells his brother that he differs from the opinion of many that there are no people on the globe who are completely bereft of the idea of a supreme being. He holds there are such people and he avers that they exist right here in California. The point is demonstrated to Baegert's satisfaction by the native's lack of intelligence and by his manner of life, "which dispenses entirely from thought except as to eating and women." "If one explains to them a hundred or a thousand times the truths necessary for salvation and then asks for a repetition either they fail entirely or the repetition is mechanical and from mere memory, for they feel nothing in their hearts, nor is there any good effect or change for the better to be noted in their habits." Therefore the padre's spirit was heavy for he doubted seriously the possibility of their ultimate salvation since they could not grasp the basic truths of Christianity.

There was great difficulty, too, in administering to them the sacraments. "Nevertheless, if they would only refrain from adultery and other worse crimes I would put no difficulty in the way of admitting them to Holy Communion." That Baegert did not change this, his opinion, during the following fifteen years of his residence at San Luis is made clear by statements in the *Nachrichten*.[13] However, he thanks God his neophytes are not given to drink, for they do not know how to make intoxicating liquor. For all Baegert's critical attitude he tells his brother that the native vices were not many, being limited to child murder and to sexual disorders. Later he discovered that they were stealing his animals so that in the *Nachrichten* he put the natives down as thieves too.

Baegert was spared, at least during the early months of his residence in San Luis, the agonies of the plague's visitation to his scattered flock. He says his neophytes were nearly always well and so there was little occasion for the visitation of the sick. Therefore those scourges of the mission neophyte, measles and small-pox (*viruelas y sarampión*), which quite generally decimated his numbers did not visit San Luis at least during Baegert's early residence. But there was some illness and there were times when a visit to a sick Indian became imperative. On such occasions the padre would take some biscuit, tortillas, and meat for the sick person and some fresh water in a flask. He would mount his fine horse and off he would go. Thus he writes: "If the distance is so great that I must sleep by the way I lie down on the ground like the Indians . . . . and arise in the morning without having been bitten by snake, scorpion, or tarantula. I have done this many times and have rested well, thank God. I have a good horse and do not mind riding, even though I may have to do twenty hours or more in a day and a half and even though the inns by the way are poorly kept." Indeed, epidemic seems never to have visited San Luis, for in the *Nachrichten* he repeats the statement as to the Indians' general good state of health and he enumerates a variety of ills, common in Europe, such as the gout, apoplexy, dropsy, chills, and typhoid, that were unheard of among his natives of Lower California. From tuberculosis and syphilis, however, his charges suffered.[14]

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[13] Cf. part II, ch. 9.
[14] *Ibid.*, II, ch. 7.

The padre enjoyed a modest library in his isolated residence. Seventy-eight volumes, large and small, were on its shelves. Almost all of the books had to do with the spiritual life, and forty-six were in French. This reminds Baegert again to ask for additional works. "I received your letter of 1751, but no books." He now expresses the wish that Father López, the procurator for the missions, would send to him the works of Huet, the Bishop of Avranche, and the writings of some new French historians, such as those of Bossuet. He wants poetry too, and tragedy and comedy. "They help to cheer one up in such a wilderness." He asks for news too of the intellectual world of Europe, of how church matters were faring, and of theological developments, of Jansenism.

Although his mission was far from the tip of the peninsula where in the harborage of San Bartolomé the galleons from Manila used to put in from time to time, he seems to have profited by these visits. He mentions the Manila ships and a bit of luxurious cargo they carried to California all the way from China. This luxury was Chinese ink which came in the form of small tablets as long as one's finger and as thick as the back of a knife blade. The tablets "are packed in beautiful little boxes lined with silk and decorated with different letters and figures. Are not these charming people!" The modern reader supposes the tablets were dissolved in water to furnish the ink. One of these boxes evidently found its way to mission San Luis Gonzaga.

Baegert does not tell his brother a great deal about his personal habits. As it was usually warm at his post he often perspired through his camel's hair soutane. Though he departed from Loreto to his mission in company of one soldier and a few Indians, as we have mentioned, he says that five soldiers resided in San Luis with him. He would say his Mass every morning when he was at home, but in answer to a question from his brother he informs us that when he goes off on the more distant journeys he does not celebrate the Holy Sacrifice. He had wine at the mission. This he needed for his Mass, and there is some humor in the fact that he informs us his Indians, not possessing a name for it in their language, coined one, naming the beverage "bad water." He informs his brother in two different places that (outside of Mass) he lets weeks go by without drinking any wine, and this not from a spirit of detachment or abnegation, but simply because he prefers to drink water. And he writes: "Some California wine is almost as good as Hattenburg or Burgundy. For the rest, I take a few drops of brandy with my meals and smoke a pipe afterwards because it is the custom." There are few Germans in California, he says, in answer to another question, for there is only water to drink. So, in the attempt at a bit of humor, he gets himself into a contradiction. At the season of the ripened prickly-pear he used wine more often, for we have seen that he liked this fruit and used it at his meals with wine poured over it.

Towards the end of his lengthy epistle and before sending his love to his family, "to mother, brothers and sisters," he answers still another question posed by his brother, and he moralizes on the work being accomplished in the missions of Lower California and on the advisability of wishing to travel as missionary to this isolated region of the globe.

Evidently Baegert's Capuchin brother had posed this question: If the Indians are so few, so helpless and unwarlike, why cannot they all be grouped together within a defined region and be cared for by fewer missionaries protected by fewer soldiers? The missionary offers four reasons why this is impossible. One is linguistic, the division of language. There are, says the Jesuit, more than twelve languages or dialects among the five or six thousand people cared for in these California missions. There would be utter confusion, therefore, in bringing them together. Another reason is economic, the utter nudity of the land. In order to live at all the inhabitants must be scattered, for California's sandy deserts and lava-strewn hills and precipitous mountains of solid rock could never support a concentrated population. Still a third is social. Some of the tribes are deadly enemies and would never consent to any common regime. The last reason is psychological and had been remarked on by the missionaries from the beginning. The Indian was essentially attached to the spot of earth upon which he had dropped at birth. He would seldom wander more than a day's journey from the arroyo, the mountain slope, or the parched patch of desert upon which he had first seen the light of day. Did war or some other necessity require such wandering the native seemed to suffer an intolerable nostalgia until he had returned to the familiar contour of the forbidding earth where he had come to his first conscious impressions. It is true that Christianity here as elsewhere had reduced in certain sections the particularized enmity and divisions which atomized these poor people into microscopic groups. Nevertheless, the larger divisions and many inveterate aversions continued to split up the meager population with its inherited hatreds, its fears, and its superstitions. Therefore many missionaries were used up in tending a handful of human beings scattered about in this rocky cactus patch, sixty soldiers were employed for protection of the mission stations, and income from the royal fisc must needs flow into the arid land of Lower California if the peninsula were to be held for Spain, offer safe harborage for the Manila galleons, and in time act as a springboard for the advance north into more attractive coastal regions.

What made the expense of monies and of energy relatively more costly was the fact of diminishing returns, for the Indian population was constantly on the decline. War (inter-tribal and the suppression of rebellion), plague, the diseases brought by the Europeans, endemic syphilis, slight birthrate upon a harsh land amidst filthy and barbarous habits, all converged to effect a constant decline of the Indian population of Lower California as it had done almost universally wherever the European had set his foot upon the Western Hemisphere.[15] Baegert confirms the almost universal testimony. In speaking of a recent rebellion of the southern and unruly Pericúes, whose first uprising was in 1734 when they slew Carranco and Tamaral, the missionary of San Luis informs his brother that this nation has been reduced in numbers by disease and arms from three thousand to four hundred.

Father Baegert answers still another question which he suspects may arise in his brother's mind. "You may ask," says he, "since one hundred soldiers can tackle half a million Indians why this handful of black mouse-heads has not been tamed .... Though most blacks tremble even before an unloaded gun or an unsheathed sword, they will not come out in the open and fight, but remain spread among their hills and along their valleys so that by the time we gather in the soldiers (the distances are great and the roads are difficult) the rebels have accomplished their purposes." Another impediment to the soldiery was the commissary which had to accompany them, whereas the Indian was fleet and foot-loose. The Spanish armed force, which would be of forty or fifty men, would often take along with them one thousand animals as extra mounts and pack-animals both of food and water.

This lengthy missive winds up with disabusing comfortable

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[15] Cf. Francisco A. Flores, *História de la Medicina en México desde la Época de los Indios hasta la Presente,* Mexico, 1886-1888, I, 112 ff.; S. F. Cook, *The Extent and Significance of Disease among the Indians of Baja California, 1767–1773,* Berkeley, University of California Press, 1937, p. 28. See also Peter Masten Dunne, "The Record Book of a Lower California Mission" MID-AMERICA, XXIX (July 1947), 193.

Europeans once again as to the condition of mission life and at the same time (a common missionary practice) with encouraging his Jesuit brethren in continental Europe to come out West and be participants of so good and constructive a work.

People may think, writes Baegert, that

> when one comes to an old established mission one finds the people living properly together in huts, in domesticated fashion, and well settled; wearing clothes, looking after their farm lands, and engaged in other necessary occupation. [Europeans may think that] one can hold regular religious services, hear confessions on Saturday and Sunday, distribute Holy Communion, and sing vespers and the Salve—and thereafter be able to enjoy pleasant leisure. Or they think that when one is ordered to start a new mission one can develop a market town in a few years. And yet, how terribly these people are deceived, for who in Europe would expect to find a country on the globe similar to our California. . . . [For the missionary in California] egotism languishes from want of nourishment, the five senses are denied or held in check, a man must renounce honor, interest, taste, and social converse . . . If I give one of [my Indians] half an ox he would, regardless, spit at the freshly whitened wall . . . and would then make off as if a dog had bitten him. Such politicians are my neighbors.

But the newly arrived missionary states his happiness in clear terms as we have indicated above, and no breath of loneliness or nostalgia seems to have fallen upon him. "Many in Europe sow much, but reap little," says the padre, implying that the hardships of mission life are worth the game, for in spite of all difficulties and discouragements a harvest is to be gathered in. "Let no one be prevented by all [these hardships] from accepting an American mission. Though the Indians be few they must not be left helpless to their devices. The poorer a race and the more helpless a country it lives in, the more deserving it is of pity and the more worth troubling about. Let them not be left to fall from the frying pan into the fire and from a temporal let them not drop into an eternal hell."

Thus at the end of his letter the Alsatian, Johann Jakob Baegert, allows to emerge from under a covering of arrogant severity the true heart of the missionary. In spite of the formerly emitted severe strictures and sharp or even carping criticisms of his barbarous charges, his sympathies were for them, while his intelligence demanded their Christian instruction and their eternal salvation. He seems to have led a most contented existence; his inner spirit seemed to have been lit with a warm and glowing light, for we recall his words earlier recorded, that he "had not been sad for a moment." And he added that "health is necessary and melancholy is of no use especially in such a wilderness." After putting some limitations on his averred indifference concerning what was going on in Europe (for he wanted to know about Church matters, and Jansenism, and theology) he makes this pregnant statement: "If there is good news I shall hear it eventually even in this distant corner of the world, while bad news always comes too soon."

Baegert continued on for fifteen years at San Luis Gonzaga after he wrote this letter of 1752. Like his great predecessor Ugarte and like his contemporary Consag he explored the country, making several expeditions to the West Coast in search of mission sites, harborage for the Manila ships, or simply in search of other peoples to gather into the fold of the Church. Our padre was still at San Luis in the February of 1768 when word came to him sent by his Jesuit superior, Benno Ducru, that he must pack up immediately and come over the pass of the "Giantess" to Loreto. This was the effect of the decree of King Carlos III issued the previous year which expelled the Jesuits from all his domains. For Lower California Don Gaspar de Portolá, famed discoverer of San Francisco Bay, had been appointed to carry out the desolating details of the royal decree.

Sixteen years had attached the missionary to his post; to leave it forever was a rude wrench to his spirit. Several years later back in his native Alsace he confessed to his deep emotion. "I wept not only then but throughout the journey; and even now as I write tears fill my eyes."[16] The man with a heart becomes emotionally attached to those weaker than himself for whose betterment from high moral or spiritual motivation he has given his labor and his sweat. Baegert thus fits well into a familiar human pattern.

Though Baegert, a stalwart and somewhat arrogant German type, did not possess the supernatural ardor, the optimistic zeal, and the human sympathies of some of his Latin predecessors in the peninsula (Salvatierra and Pícolo come immediately to mind) his heart was with his poor dusky children of the wild among whom he had labored, for whom he had sacrificed, and towards whom he tried to be an instrument of eternal salvation. Baegert as a normal human being reacted as such and, from the evidence of his letter, became attached to those for whom he labored, among whom he worked, and whose cares and illnesses he attended to. The very degradation and helplessness of his charges would arouse a certain humane attitude nicely colored by pity looking towards a betterment of their condition. Therefore he returned to comfortable Europe with a broken heart. He regaled his family and friends with stories of that far distant and mysterious land sitting on the rim of the world. He delighted and instructed those close to him with specimens of the flora and fauna of California, of varieties of cactus, of the Big Horn, of the beads and feathers used by the natives. Then four years later he published a book about it all, the oft herein cited *Nachrichten.* But the wound to his spirit, from what he says, never healed. Like missionaries of every age and the world over he had become attached to his people and knowing no nostalgia at his departure from Europe, he knew it at his return, nostalgia for rock-ridden and cactus-plagued Lower California, nostalgia for the degraded people for whose improvement, material and spiritual, he had devoted his days.

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[16] *Nachrichten,* III, ch. 10.

Our Lower California missionary died in the December of the very year the *Nachrichten* was published, 1772. Fortunate, perhaps, too it was for his already wounded soul, because the following year, 1773, Pope Clement XIV signed the fateful decree suppressing the Society of Jesus as a religious order of the Church. Jakob Baegert was spared the ultimate frustration of his most cherished sympathies.

PETER MASTEN DUNNE

University of San Francisco

Book Review

Pioneer Days in Idaho County. By Sister M. Alfreda Elsensohn, Volume I, Caxton Printers, Ltd., Caldwell, Idaho, 1947, Pp. xx, 527.

Pioneer Days in Idaho County has a much wider scope than its title indicates. An exact descriptive title would read, "The Past and Present History of Idaho County in the State of Idaho." The book in its present form is a mine of information of all kinds, good, bad, indifferent, and irrelevant. Nevertheless, future researchers in this field will have to consult this book, but only with caution and further verification.

The range of the book is encyclopedic. Every settlement, village, town and city of Idaho county receives mention in direct ratio to the available written and oral sources. A truly impressive collection of data regarding names and places and every phase of life is here published. Exploration and settlement, growth and exploitation, mining and farming, stage-coaches and trade are treated. Lengthy quotations from contemporary records and from early newspapers, on occasion, tell the story in picturesque language. Precise facts concerning the various gold rushes constitute one of the better portions of the book. However, no topic is ignored. In fact, one can say with perfect honesty that this first of two volumes is simultaneously a report on Idaho county's history, geology, industry, horticulture, commerce, agriculture and mining.

Without any doubt, *Pioneer Days in Idaho County* represents persistent research by an intensely interested student. Unfortunately, the fruit of this labor is presented in a form little calculated to attract anyone except a confirmed booster of the county or the scholar quite hardened to gleaning knowledge under trying circumstances. The author shows uncritical use of secondary material and insufficient discrimination in her use of source material. To cite notes on sheriff's office stationery (page 1) with apparently the same approbation as contemporary eye-witness accounts (page 40) hardly conforms to common-sense practice of historical criticism. Extensive quotations form similar documents or rather commonplace records detract considerably from the book's readableness. In many instances a simple paraphrasing of a document or old newspaper account would improve the literary style perceptibly. Old newspaper files and personal interviews constitute the principal sources of the book, but unskilled use of them mars the entire work. A definite impression is given that *Pioneer Days in Idaho County* is a very fine set of notes composed with scissors and a paste pot. Evidences of this scrap-book tone are many. A serious piece of research is cluttered-up with uninteresting minutiae. We read, for instance, that Polly Bemis made a crocheted cap that was highly prized by the Irwin family (page 97) ; or again, that a gun "probably lost during the Indian War" was found by August Seubert of Cottonwood and given to the museum at St. Gertrude's Academy (page 296).

The general division of the book into chapters and partial chapters on each settlement is perfectly reasonable. In executing the plan the author has done much repetitious writing. For example, in narrating the "battle of Cottonwood," July 5, 1877, during the Indian uprisings, Sister Alfreda gives six separate accounts written by contemporaries or participants (pp. 304-312). There is practically no attempt made to collate the accounts or to compose one connected story from them. Such unrestrained eclecticism has resulted in an uncritical *mélange* of fact and hearsay which seriously circumscribes the admitted usefulness of the work in more scholarly circles.

Excellent maps and illustrations enhance the value of the book. The index is good but not nearly comprehensive enough for the amount of factual material printed in the book. Caxton Printers, Ltd., deserve a special word of commendation for a well printed book.

Seattle College

William N. Bischoff

Notes and Comments

Professor Charles Wilson Hackett has completed the monumental task to which he set himself in 1931. The fourth and last volume of his English translation of *Pichardo's Treatise on the Limits of Louisiana and Texas* appeared in 1947 although its publication date is 1946. Scholars are well acquainted with the meticulous care taken by Drs. Hackett and Charmion Clair Selby in translating Father Pichardo's work. They know too of Dr. Hackett's judicious annotations from the preceding three volumes published in 1931, 1934, and 1941. What compliments he and the Bureau of Research in the Social Sciences of the University of Texas, his sponsors, have received in reviews for the earlier volumes may well be repeated with respect to this concluding volume.

The work itself is highly important for the historians of our southwest, chiefly because of the exhaustive labor of Father Pichardo. When the United States purchased Louisiana with its indefinite boundaries Thomas Jefferson laid claim to the Texas lands even to the Rio Grande. Spain designated Pichardo to head a commission to find out the boundaries of her provinces of Texas and Louisiana. The investigation required four years and resulted in 1812 in a report to the Spanish authorities written in about a million words under the heading: "An argumentative historical treatise with reference to the verification of the true limits of the Provinces of Louisiana and Texas: Written by Father José Antonio Pichardo, of the Congregation of the Oratory of San Felipe Neri, to disprove the claim of the United States that Texas was included in the Louisiana Purchase of 1803."

For the vast amount of factual data gathered by Pichardo and the fine editing by Dr. Hackett this set should be in every library pretending to offer materials for research. In acquiring the volumes no librarian need sooth his or her conscience with the excuse that they are being obtained for some "hypothetical reader" of the vague future. It will become necessary for students to utilize the documents within this treatise.

* * * *

Clinton N. Howard of the Department of History of the University of California at Los Angeles has brought out the results of his studies under the title *The British Development of West Florida*

1763–1769. This is Volume 34 of University of California Publications in History, published by the University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1947. The text consists of six chapters concisely written in forty-seven pages with stress on the establishment of the West Florida governmental and economic institutions and the problems arising out of their conduct for the governor and the council of administrators. It is a solid work. The last three-fourths of the volume contains appendixes of a documentary nature, notes, and bibliography. The editing and printing of the charts of the land grants and the letters is an illustration of a very difficult task carefully carried out.

* * * *

America's Williamsburg, published by Colonial Williamsburg, Inc., of Williamsburg, Virginia, is a remarkable pictorial brochure, explaining "how and why the historic capital of Virginia, oldest and largest of England's thirteen American colonies, has been restored to its Eighteenth Century appearance by John D. Rockefeller, Jr." The text is by Gerald Horton Bath. Undoubtedly thousands of people will visit this restored city and will absorb a lasting impression of colonial times and manners according to the wishes of those who have made a monument to history. Accompanying the brochure is a card facsimile of the Virginia Bill of Rights adopted June 12, 1776.

* * * *

From St. Paul, Kansas, comes an elaborate brochure, *Osage Mission,* edited by Mary Joyce and dedicated to the Osage Indians and the Jesuit missionaries who established the mission. As a centennial celebration number should be, this is profusely illustrated with photostats and photographs. After the first section on the history of the Osage Mission, which is chiefly an abridgment from Father Gilber J. Garraghan's *Jesuits in the Middle United States,* the pages turn to the history of St. Paul, especially in its educational and religious aspects, although prominence is given to the political and business leaders and to the native sons who have acquired fame in other localities. All in all, the brochure shapes up as a fine historical record.

* * * *

The Grassland of North America, Prolegomena to its History, by James C. Malin, appeared late in 1947. It is lithotyped from the author's typescript and distributed by the author from 1541 University Drive, Lawrence, Kansas. It is in reality not a continuation of the author's earlier volume, *Essays on Historiography,* but rather a part or division of his work arranged thus in two volumes for convenience. The author is not concerned at present with the formal history of the Grassland, or Trans-Mississippi West, but rather in the progress of the sciences which will aid the historian in a broader and deeper interpretation of that history. In Part I Malin considers The Sciences and Regionalism. He designates the new sciences that are presenting new factors for the historian: plant, animal, and insect ecology, climatology, geology and geography, soil science, soil physics and microbiology. He marshals the writings of the ecologists, the agronomists, pedologists, and geographers, not to apply their findings to social developments but rather "to challenge the misuses to which the sciences have been put in making social applications," (p. iv). In Part II we have an Historiography tracing the earlier and more recent developments in the relation between science and society, and more broadly, between the scientist, the social scientist, and the historian. Mr. Malin ends his volume with a notable bibliography of some sixty pages.

There is no doubt about the fact that historians will find themselves more and more unable to avoid the findings of scientists studying the grasslands, grumble though they may about the overlapping and conflict of disciplines. Indications of what the historians are doing about the matter may readily be found in various books and articles, particularly in the present (1947-1948) *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, where in June Harold E. Briggs presented "An Appraisal of Historical Writings on the Great Plains Region Since 1920," and in September George Haines IV and Frederick H. Jackson were co-authors of "A Neglected Landmark in the History of Ideas," and in December George W. Pierson wrote of "Recent Studies of Turner and the Frontier Doctrine." The lot of the Valley historian is not an happy one, what with all the new tools to master and all the new factors to weigh.

* * * *

The Negro in Mississippi 1865–1890, by Vernon Lane Wharton, is Volume 28 of The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science, published in 1947 at Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press. In this study Professor Wharton presents aspects of the many problems arising out of the new status of the Negro in Mississippi after the Civil War brought emancipation. In the two introductory chapters he reveals that approximately half of the Negroes experienced freedom long before April, 1865, while those in isolated areas only gradually came to know that they were legally free. Following the end of hostilities the Negro shared with the Whites a common destitution and suffered in the severe epidemics. Next, the Negroes who became independent farmers were faced by the discouraging crop failures of 1866 and 1867. No wages could be paid to hired hands and hence farm owners of both races resorted to sharecropping, rationing, and various devices of barter for commodities, labor, mule-power, and clothing. Next Professor Wharton has brief accounts of the Freedmen's Bureau, The Black Code, the attempts to replace Negro labor with that of foreigners, and the wholesale migration of the Negroes from unproductive and discriminatory areas. The chapters on the Negro's attempt at leadership in politics and at obtaining control of local governments leading to the "Revolution of 1875" and the end of carpet-bagging and Republicanism, are well told. The unhappy problems of Mississippi after 1875 are treated in the last six chapters under the headings of Race Relations, Crime and Convict Release, Education, Religion, The Negro Defective, and Social Life. A good bibliography and index round out the volume.

* * * *

In Rome the Office of Catholic Books, "Officium Libri Catholici," is continuing its publication of a series of documentary monographs on missions. This Bibliotheca Missionalis now has eight volumes listed as published or in the press. Notable among these as pertaining more to the historian than the canonist or theologian is Volume V, *Pontificia Nipponica.* This is a collection of papal briefs regarding the missions in Japan issued by various popes between 1540 and 1748, some decrees of the Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith, and various letters, to an ultimate total of ninety-six documents. The other parts to be published will add to this total.

* * * *

The Southwestern Historical Quarterly can generally command quite a bit of reader interest for the variety of its articles. For example, in the July, 1947, number the leading article, "The Fence-Cutters," by Wayne Gard, is a colorful account of the fight in 1883 between the ranchers who had fenced in their ranges and the landless cowmen whose cattle were dying for lack of grass and water outside the enclosed pastures. A second article, "Bishop Marín de Porras and Texas," by Nettie Lee Benson, recounts the story of this Spanish prelate's visitation of Texas and straightens out his letter-report which has been variously garbled. The letter is given in translation. Max Berger follows with "Education in Texas during the Spanish and Mexican Periods." Elsewhere is an announcement by The Texas State Historical Association of the W. Scott Schreiner Award in Texas History. The award will be made for the best paper on Texas history published in the Quarterly between July, 1947, and July, 1949, inclusive. . . . In the October number Roberta C. Hendrix began the publication of "Some Gail Borden Letters," and E. W. Winkler publishes the "Check List of Texas Imprints, 1861-1876."

* * * *

In *The Pacific Historical Review* for August, 1947, one will find a survey, "Forty Years of Pacific Coast Branch History," by Frank Harmon Garver, explaining the formation and progress of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association. There is much factual data, including a list of the officers of the Branch. Elsewhere in this number are "The Shooting of Charles de Young," by Irving McKee, which has much to do with the newspaper rivalries and strife in San Francisco from 1860 to 1880, and "The Port of Los Angeles as a Municipal Enterprise," by John H. Krenkel, which accounts for the establishment and growth of "one of the world's greatest man-made harbors." . . . In the November number Neal Harlow has a short survey on "The Maps of San Francisco Bay and the Town of Yerba Buena to One Hundred Years Ago," which is a synopsis of a forthcoming volume of the said maps now in press.

* * * *

Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society for June, 1947, carries among its interesting articles on the history of the State one called "Red Stacks in the Sunset," by the Rev. Edward J. Dowling, S.J., who specializes in Great Lakes navigation. This survey is about ships and shipping companies, and passenger boats, linking Chicago with other lake ports.

* * * *

The South Dakota Historical Society after considerable struggle over the past six years is keeping its existence known by the publication of a monthly bulletin in planograph named *Wi-iyohi,* whose first number of Volume I was in April. We hope that this is an indication of a revival of the former interest in history in South Dakota.

MID-AMERICA

An Historical Review

VOLUME 30, NUMBER 2 APRIL 1948

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Published quarterly by Loyola University (The Institute of Jesuit History) at 50 cents a copy. Annual subscription, $2.00; in foreign countries, $2.50. Publication and editorial offices at Loyola University, 6525 Sheridan Road, Chicago, Illinois. All communications should be addressed to the Managing Editor. Entered as second class matter, August 7, 1929, at the post office at Chicago, Illinois, under the Act of March 3, 1879. Additional entry as second class matter at the post office at Effingham, Illinois. Printed in the United States.

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An Historical Review
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The Genesis and Building of Detroit

Cadillac, as bearer of the letters of Frontenac, left Canada in the latter part of October 1698, and arrived in France at the end of the year, unaware as yet of Frontenac's death. The first thing he asked when he reached Paris was to be given his pay for the time of his voyage.[1]

With almost equal celerity he submitted his project for the founding of a new settlement.[2] As early as May 27, 1699, the king sent a memorandum to Callières and Champigny in which this project is mentioned: "His Majesty is sending a memorandum of Sieur de Lamothe Cadillac, wherein the latter proposes to assemble all the Indians, our allies, in one communal body in the territory between Lake Erie, Lake Huron and Lake Michigan." Since this memorandum was addressed to Canada, there was no need, said the king, of describing in detail the means proposed for success of the plan. The proposal, however, was to be examined at Quebec in an assembly of the principal inhabitants in the presence of Sieur de Lamothe.[3]

Note: This article is a continuation of those published earlier in MID-AMERICA, namely, "Cadillac's Early Years in America," in the January, 1944, number, and "Antoine Laumet, *alias* Cadillac, Commandant at Michilimackinac: 1694–1697," in the April, July, and October, 1945, numbers. Editor.

[1] Summary of letters of 1698, Archives des Colonies (AC), C 11A, 120: 50.

[2] It is impossible to know whether Cadillac or Charron first thought of an establishment on the Strait connecting Lake Huron with Lake Erie; an undated memoir of Charron refers to such a post. P. Margry, *Découvertes et Établissements des Français dans l'Ouest et dans le Sud de l'Amérique Septentrionale*, 6 vols., Paris, 1876–1888, 5: 135 f.

[3] Louis XIV to Callières and Champigny, AC, B 20: 197–198, printed in Margry, 5: 136 f.

There are two groups, says Cadillac in the plan, whose interests conflict;—the contractors in France and the people of Canada. Since he had no qualms about his own superior abilities, he feels sure of being able to effect an adjustment: "until now Lamothe has never been unsuccessful in anything which he had undertaken." First, he will prevent all beaver pelts from leaving the Ottawa country during the next three years, 1700 to 1702. Second, the beaver which will be sold will be *gras* or *demi-gras,* selling for six francs a pound. Third, the people of Canada who will profit by this commerce will be, or ought to be, satisfied. Fourth, the contractors will have no complaints, for they all will profit by this trade. "Fifth, he will gather in a single post all the Indians scattered about." And finally, "he will see to it that the Indians are humanized and civilized, so that in ten years most of them will speak no other language but French; and by this means, from being pagans they will become children of the Church and consequently good subjects of the king."

It may be noted here in parentheses that Cadillac had exactly ten years, that he had every opportunity to teach French to the Indians, and that the results were altogether negligible. To carry out articles one, two, and three, he went on to say, it is necessary to re-establish the twenty-five congés, "that is, to allow twenty-five canoes, with three men in each, to bring goods to the post that will be found, which must be located *au Detroit du Lac Huron.*" To prevent the trade permit-holders from trading anywhere else, a deposit of 1,000 or 1,500 livres should be demanded, which would be forfeited in case of violation: "Here is the first chain that will hold them by one foot." Since all the Indians will be gathered together in one place, the traders will not want to go elsewhere, "and so this grouping of tribes in one place will be the second chain binding the coureurs de bois by the other foot." The new post should be made a seat of government, and a strong garrison should be stationed there: "this will be the third chain, that will bind the coureurs de bois around the waist."

The means of curtailing production of beaver pelts for three years is also very simple. If the convoy leaves Montreal in May 1700, it cannot reach Detroit before the end of June. A fort and lodgings will have to be built there before winter sets in. Hence, no trading can take place until the following May, that is, when the Indians arrive. The voyageurs will then be able to trade only a part of their merchandises, and will have to keep the rest for another year, till 1702. The convoy with the pelts cannot possibly return to Montreal before July, 1702, which means that exactly three years will go by without pelts. Moreover, the pelts will be of a higher quality, because the Indians will have worn them. The outlay of merchandise should be more than 200,000 livres; and the contractors who are to supply this merchandise "must be satisfied with a reasonable profit," that is, with twenty-five per cent.

With regard to the fifth proposition, Lamothe is sure of success, provided he be given what is necessary for suitable presents to the tribes. "The undertaking will be all the easier to carry out, since the place where the Indians are to assemble was at one time their habitat; this is especially true of the Ottawa, Sauk, and Hurons, whom the Iroquois drove out of these regions. It can truly be said that the spot is the most beautiful in the world; it has the best and the most fertile soil, where every kind of produce grows."

The commandant is directed to follow the example of Frontenac; to make small presents on behalf of the king, and to invite to dinner at his house all those who have good manners. The Frenchification scheme as conceived by Cadillac, is discussed at length in the subsequent pages of this memoir; in fact, it forms the central part of the document.

> As there are several kinds of missionaries in Canada, a house should be built for them within the fort; they will preach and give instruction in the faith; principally, they will instruct the young people and teach them French. All the Indians, especially the children, have a great facility in learning our language. Experience proves this, for we have many Indians, both men and women, who speak French as perfectly and with even greater precision than the French themselves.

On his return to France in 1699, while the difficulties at Michilimackinac were still rankling in his heart, Cadillac was not likely to forget his good friends the Jesuits, as it is evident from his reference to the missionaries. Strange that the numerous Indians speaking French were unknown to every one in Canada; or rather it is not strange at all, for they only existed in the overwrought imagination of the commandant. The coureurs de bois had not taught French, and Cadillac himself certainly did not become a French teacher at Michilimackinac during the three years he spent there.

> The missionaries must be honest with regard to the language question. His Majesty should be kind enough to give them emphatic orders to that effect, for several reasons. The first is that when religious or other ecclesiastics have made up their mind about something, they never change. The second is because they will thus render themselves indispensable to the king and to the governors, who stand in need of them to make their intentions known to the Indians and to find out the attitude of the Indians

in certain contingencies. Thirdly, if all Indians spoke French all sorts of ecclesiastics could instruct them; this might cause the loss of [royal] gratuities; in short, although these Reverend [Jesuit] Fathers come to Canada only for the glory of God, one motive does not exclude the other. All the ecclesiastics who are in Canada have the same motive; but one motive does not exclude the others.

Even in Talon's time, Colbert had been won over by the advocates of Frenchification. "A great deal of time, energy, and money might have been saved, had Colbert acquainted himself with the history of the question, upon which his views were so pronounced."[4] And now, thirty years later, the great Cadillac settles the whole question in a few sentences. Why did not the governors and the commandants, especially the latter, learn at least one Indian language? Either Huron or Algonquian would have enabled them to make themselves understood. He gives here expression to the feeling of most of the officials in New France: they resented having to depend on the missionaries. It was only natural that the Indians should have greater deference toward those who spoke their language; in this respect, the Black Robe was superior to Onontio. The commandants lived in the midst of the Indians as the missionaries did. During his three years at Michilimackinac, Cadillac had every opportunity to learn both Huron and Algonquian; instead, he chose to sell brandy.

His "third reason" is just as weak as the other two. Precisely what he means by "all sorts of ecclesiastics" is not so clear; but he is evidently alluding to the exclusiveness of the Jesuits, who preferred to work in their own mission with their own men rather than with other priests, who employed assuredly excellent, but different methods of evangelization. This could only cause friction, and the very fact that other missionaries wore a different garb would make the Indians believe that they had a different aim. The reference to possible loss of gratitude is silly. The whole subsidy granted by the king would not have sufficed to keep one mission open.

To prove that "one motive does not exclude the other," Cadillac goes on to say that "the ecclesiastics" possess three fourths of Canada: a glance at a map of the colony is enough to prove that the clergy are enormously wealthy. No reference is made to his own substantial holdings: the twenty-five square miles on the coast, which he was supposed to clear and cultivate for the well-being of the colony instead of selling brandy. He conveniently overlooks the fact that the land which "the ecclesiastics" had bought or had been granted was used for the benefit of the colony, for the land was being handed over to tenants for cultivation. Having thus convicted "the ecclesiastics" of mixed motives, he ends with the pious hope "that nothing of the kind will take place in the Ottawa country [*i.e.,* in Detroit], and that in this respect more heed will be given to the intentions of the Court."

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[4] M. Eastman, *Church and State in Early Canada*, Edinburgh, 1915, 114.

After this digression, he comes back to the Frenchification scheme. To promote emulation among the Indian children, the governor accompanied by some officers should visit the classes and give prizes to the best pupils. The "governor" referred to is, of course, the future commandant of Detroit, who now sees himself as a second Charlemagne visiting the palace schools. "It would be well for the king to set aside a lump sum to provide for the Indian children whom the missionaries will take in as boarders in their schools. This should be done in cooperation with the governor." If Cadillac had consulted Frontenac before leaving for France, the governor could have enlightened him on this point by relating the outcome of his own "hostage" experiment.

He then indicates the bright future which his project will bring to the colony:

> Thus the children of the Indians and those of the French will converse with one another, and what takes place everywhere will also take place here;—the Indian children will speak French, and the French children will speak Indian. For, if ten children, each speaking a different language, constantly associate with one another, each child will learn ten languages.

Subsequent events seem to show that he met with unforeseen obstacle, which cooled his enthusiasm. Cadillac's children were with him in the new settlement, but there is no record that one of them spoke an Indian language. His eldest son, who grew up in Detroit, could at least have learned Algonquian or Huron by associating with the young Indians there, and thus become interpreter for his father. Or perhaps Cadillac intended that the children of other Frenchmen should mingle with the Indians, but not his.

> When there are Indian girls who speak good French and are instructed in our faith, any soldiers or other Frenchmen who may wish to marry them, must be allowed to do so. It would be still better if the king granted a subsidy to those who contract such marriages; for this would move these poor girls to be more easily converted. Though I do not know why, it is certain that there is not one Indian girl who does not prefer the most lowly Frenchman to the most exalted personage of her tribe; and all the Indians

> feel greatly honored by such alliances. The children of such marriages would speak French and would be loath to speak Indian; a fact which is confirmed by daily experience in Canada. Such was formerly the policy of the English, who brought under their domination a very great number of Indians,—who are today the pillars of their colony,—after having taught them their language and, what is more deplorable, their heresy; for these poor Indians are more pious and more devout than the English themselves.

The above quotation contains as many inconsistencies as there are assertions. When he was at Michilimackinac, Cadillac inveighed against the mercenary character of the conversions there, whereas here, he is suggesting a dowry as a means of bringing the Indian girls into the fold. It is simply not true that the Indian girls preferred Frenchmen to Indians. The curious reader may easily find evidence of their repugnance, as well as the reason which led Cadillac to make such a statement. Daily experience showed exactly the opposite of what he says: the French had no worse enemies than the half-breeds. Finally, it is a matter of common knowledge that the English did not bring the Indians under their domination by interracial marriages, and there are enough references in the records to prove that the English did not teach their language to the Indians of New York and New England.

There follows an appeal for support of the plan:

> Sieur de Lamothe humbly begs of you, my Lord, to be persuaded that in his plan, he has omitted nothing which he deemed useful to the service of God and of the king; be convinced that his only aim is to find ways and means to keep the colony which has cost so much to His Majesty. He would like to be given an opportunity to win the good will of MM. the contractors and to look after their interests. He will do all he can to satisfy them and he will surely bring this plan to a successful issue, if they give him favorable consideration.

When he wrote the above, Cadillac had no idea that his plan would be sent to Quebec to be examined by the governor, the intendant, and the principal inhabitants. He apparently thought that the authorities in Paris would at once order it to be tried out, and he fervently hoped that he would be selected to put it in operation. If someone else were to execute the project and if it miscarried, he could always claim that it failed because the wrong man had been chosen. How anxious he was for the appointment is clear from the first sentence of the last paragraph, which also contains a parting shot at the methods of the missionaries:

> It would be hard, indeed, if after he himself had beaten the bush, another were to catch the hare. He has every assurance that it is like banging one's head against a stone wall to hope to convert these nations

in any other way than the one herein set forth; for all that the missionaries have to show is that they baptized little children who died before reaching the age of reason.[5]

The project was given to some official in Paris for criticism. In his memorandum which was not enthusiastic, the critic pointed out many intrinsic and extrinsic weaknesses of the plan.[6] These objections were answered by a sympathizer who wrote his comments in the margin of the manuscript, and it was finally decided to submit the plan to the authorities in Canada for consideration.

The views of the governor and of the intendant concerning the plan, are expressed in their letter of October 20, 1699. Although approving the plan in general, the governor, Callières, had the following serious objections. While Detroit was an ideal location, the Iroquois might take umbrage, since the post would limit their hunting grounds, and their ill-will might lead to a perpetuation of the war. Moreover, the western Indians would be much too close to the English in the new post, and they would be strongly tempted to trade with the latter instead of with the French. It would be better, he thought, to re-establish the twenty-five congés; this would prevent the traders from going to the Indian villages, and would force them to trade in the posts already established, to which garrisons should be sent.[7]

The situation in Canada was in fact quite different from what it had been when Cadillac left for France in October 1698. Frontenac was no longer there, and without this powerful protector, the author of the plan was at a considerable disadvantage. Whether Frontenac would have approved of the plan is a matter of serious doubt. We have already seen that he was too intelligent to be taken in by the featherbrained schemes of Cadillac, and the danger of the close proximity of the western Indians to the English would certainly not have escaped him.

Champigny's verdict was still less favorable than that of Callières.[8] Though the latter was probably indifferent in his attitude toward Cadillac, the intendant had many personal reasons for distrust, because of what Cadillac had done in 1694. It is also likely that he might have a good word to say for the project, had its author been somebody else. Even if the plan had been sound, Cadillac's attacks against the missionaries were not conducive to win the intendant's good will. Apart from the fact that some of Champigny's comments betray antagonism to Cadillac personally, the intendant was fully aware of the state of affairs in Canada, and it is worth noting that what actually happened at Detroit confirmed his objections to the project.

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[5] This memoir is found in AC, C 11E, 14: 35-41; it is printed in Margry, 5: 138–153.

[6] AC, C 11E, 14: 51–52v.

[7] Margry, 5: 154–156.

[8] An abstract of Cadillac memoir entitled "Extrait du Memoire du S^r de la Mothe Cadillac capitaine dune Compangie de Marine en Canada sur l'Etablissement aux Outaouacs," is in AC, C 11E, 14: 44–50; a shorter abstract is in AC, C 11A, 17: 101–103. The latter is a two column document; the comments of Champigny are on the left-hand side.

The peaceful reunion of several tribes in one place, he says, is an almost impossible task; this was clearly seen at Michilimackinac, where Hurons and Ottawa were constantly fighting each other. Moreover, such a multitude of Indians would not be able to support themselves in so narrow a space. They need a much wider territory for their hunting grounds, and would have to go back to where they are now, that is, to Michilimackinac, or farther west, to get the pelts which they sell to the French. As for Cadillac's "social uplift" plan, he goes on to say:

> The difficulty of civilizing distant tribes is exemplified by the fact that we hardly ever see one Indian remaining with us, of those who have been brought to us in their childhood and were raised among us. This indicates clearly that success in making them civilized is not to be hoped for. Even now, the missionaries find it necessary to have French servants, because the Indians do not like to be dependent or to remain settled in any one place, and it is more usual for a Frenchman to become an Indian, than for an Indian to become a Frenchman.[9]

Champigny, like Callières, expressed grave doubts that the Iroquois would peacefully let the French build the projected fort at Detroit. And he was entirely unimpressed by Cadillac's main argument, the beaver holiday. How, he asked, will the Indians subsist during this time? Furthermore, he was shrewd enough to note that the commandant of the new post could carry on a lucrative trade during the holiday, and pocket all the money himself. He also objected to Cadillac's implied criticism of the missionaries:

> It is an excessive stricture upon the success of the missionaries to say that their whole achievement consists in baptizing children and in converting a few old men at the hour of death, for it is patent that there are many Indians who practice their religion, and even a number of them who lead an edifying life.[10] This will undoubtedly become even more true when the coureurs de bois and the soldiers are well disciplined.

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[9] Cf. Jean Delanglez, *Frontenac and the Jesuits*, Chicago, 1939, 49 ff.

[10] It is probably Cadillac's slur which prompted Champigny to send a list of the Jesuit Indian missions in New France to the minister. Champigny to Pontchartrain, October 20, 1699, AC, C 11A, 17: 69.

The renewal of the congés, which Cadillac had advocated, was favored by Callières independently of the plan as a whole. With this Champigny also agreed, objecting only to the abuse of granting these permits to a small coterie for whose benefit they were never intended.

The success of the English in anglicizing the Indians is more specifically stated in the abstract of Cadillac's memorandum which Champigny annotated, than it is in the original document. In this abstract we are told that in Long Island alone, there are 15,000 Indians speaking no other tongue than English and that some of these Indians are actually ministers in Protestant churches. It may be, says Champigny, that some of the Indians in the English colonies are easier to civilize, as the Arkansas are said to be, but he adds: "We have no certain knowledge of these dispositions, and if a thorough examination of the matter were made, one would perhaps find it necessary to discount heavily from what is said here, especially about the Indians' training in arts and trades, and their sedentary habits."

With regard to sending Ursulines to the wilderness "with savages and soldiers, the proposal was distasteful to all those who heard it," when it was read in the assembly at Quebec. In conclusion, he said, there were so many difficulties connected with the plan itself, that it was unnecessary to discuss the means for carrying it out.

Champigny signed the above comments on October 20, 1699; that is, shortly before the mail left for France. Cadillac, realizing that his plan was doomed unless he could present a report in person about the action taken by the Quebec assembly, hastened to assure Callières that he had leave from Pontchartrain to return at once to Paris.[11] What his personal report was like, we can gather from an undated letter to Pontchartrain, which he wrote at the beginning of 1700.[12] "You scolded me so much," he says in this letter, "that it is my duty to justify my conduct. A thorough examination can easily be made by means of the detailed account which I am about to give you of all that took place in Canada with regard to the project I had the honor of submitting to you last year."

This letter purports to give a "word for word" account of what took place in the assembly at Quebec. Here, as well as elsewhere, in his correspondence, he adopts the dialogue form; the arguments against his plan are made to appear weak, and of course, it is easy for Cadillac to demolish them.

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[11] Callières to Pontchartrain, October 20, 1699, AC, C 11A, 17: 41.
[12] AC, C 11E, 14: 40–44, printed in Margry, 5: 157–166.

The principal inhabitants of Canada had assembled in Quebec, by order of Callières and Champigny, to discuss the price of beaver pelts.[13] In the midst of an animated discussion, Champigny imposed silence and took out of his pocket "the memorandum which you had sent him, and read it to the assembled inhabitants. Lamothe did not expect this, for he had not been informed either in France or in Canada" that his own memorandum was to be discussed in public. It is probable that Champigny had no regret about thus informing the merchants of Cadillac's solution to their troubles. After the reading of the memorandum, the assembly was silent, a fact which Cadillac interpreted as ominous to his plan.

Champigny then laid before the assembly, his criticism of the Frenchification scheme, the impracticability of sending Sisters to the wilderness, and of the proposed beaver holiday. "Lamothe is well aware that M. de Champigny wrote other objections to the Court against his memorandum; and he is not ignorant either, of those who suggested these criticisms to him and what their motive is. Without being disrespectful to an intendant, it may be said that the intendant allowed himself to be deceived, and that he did not write as honestly as is his wont." At this point Cadillac must have felt that he was writing *finis* to the American chapter of his career. His private interview with Callières before leaving had indicated in what sense the governor would report to Paris, there was no doubt what Champigny's report would be, and he knew that some of the inhabitants would also write to Paris. We know that when he left Quebec, he was thinking of seeking employment in France.[14] He rewords Champigny's final objection as follows: "The Indians are so libertine that the Jesuits themselves are unable to make servants of them and are forced to have recourse to Frenchmen." It will be remembered that Champigny's actual objection mentioned missionaries, not Jesuits, and that he explained the Indians' attitude by their love of freedom, not by their love of pleasure.

> Answer of Lamothe. This objection is not M. de Champigny's. He only made it because, in good faith, he relies on the assertions of those who want to wreck the project. It is not to be expected that the Jesuits should be anxious to have Indians as servants. This would go against their views, since they pretend 1) that the French language should not be taught

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[13] Cf. the minutes by Champigny of what took place between the representatives of the contractors and those of the inhabitants of Canada, September 23, 1699, AC, F3, 8: 116–133.

[14] Cf. Callières to Pontchartrain, October 20, 1699, AC, C 11A, 17: 41.

to the Indians, because it makes them greater debauchees; 2) that all relation and all intercourse between French and Indians are dangerous, and corrupt the morals of the latter; 3) that remoteness from the French settlements is the only means of preserving the Indians from this corruption.

These three "views" of the Jesuits are worth considering. The first reason given for not teaching French to the Indians is not found in any known document of the period, outside of this letter. One of the great obstacles to the conversions of the Indians was the bad example of the French. This fact was openly stated by all who did missionary work among the Indians: Sulpicians, Priests of the Foreign Missions, Recollects, and Jesuits. For instance, when Father Marest heard that the French were coming to settle in the Kaskaskias village, he wrote that should they be such as would edify the neophytes, he would be glad to see them come, for their example would be an incentive for the Indians, "but if, unhappily, some of them should come and openly practice libertinage and perhaps irreligion, as is to be feared, all would be over with our mission."[15] Cadillac's refutation of this "reason" is as forceful as the reason is weak: If the French language, he says, makes debauchees of those who speak it, the kings of France were wrong in permitting it to be spoken in Languedoc, Guyenne, and other provinces of France; indeed, according to this theory, French should only be spoken in the Ile de France. "Nothing is said here," he continues, "about the separation of the Indians from the French, because it would lead us too far afield, and one wishes to be discreet in this matter." Cadillac had every reason to be discreet about his own motives for opposing such a separation.

His next two paragraphs are a dissertation on the words of Christ to St. Peter: "I shall give thee the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven." Christ, comments our exegete, did not say "the key," but "the keys," and by this plural he meant that not only the Jesuits, but all the religious orders and the secular clergy also should evangelize and teach the nations. If so many souls go to hell, it is because these laborers have quarreled over priority of rights. "Intelligent people cannot understand such an attitude; it is a flagrant abuse, my Lord, and your reputation is at stake unless you suppress it." The Jesuits had probably not even heard of Cadillac's plan until after it had been made public in the assembly. There had been no quarrel over preference at Michilimackinac; and if souls went to hell in the Northwest, the brandy trade carried on there by a certain former commandant would seem to be more closely connected with this result than anything done or omitted by the missionaries.

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[15] R. G. Thwaites, ed., *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, 73 vols., Cleveland, 1896–1901, 66: 292.

Cadillac's next comments on the spirit of Canada are quite illuminating:

> You must never hope for success, if they are allowed to deliberate upon the plan over there. It is a country full of cabals and intrigues; and it is impossible to make so many men agree whose interests are at variance. They are only happy when they can thwart others, for it is the character of the people of that country.

In the light of the above tirade, which might have been written by Lahontan, the Frenchification of the Indians, their conversion, and the opening of an Ursuline convent are seen as so much camouflage to conceal the real purpose of the father of the project. Cadillac knew that his plan would be opposed by the merchants, and hoped to keep it secret from them until the orders to execute it came from Paris. Thereafter he could confront them with a *fait accompli,* and report all obstructionists to the Court as traitors to Canada and to France.

This undated letter was written early in 1700. Cadillac had accurately gauged the situation when he resolved to go to France. Whatever he could have written would have been less effective than his own presence in Paris. As a matter of fact, he managed to impress upon the home authorities the necessity of founding a post, and to persuade the government that he was the man to effect its foundation. His success can be measured from the king's memorandum to Callières and Champigny.

> His Majesty had taken cognizance of the memoranda which both [Callières and Champigny] sent on the proposal made by Sieur de Lamothe Cadillac to populate the shores of the Strait between two lakes with Indian allies of the French. Since they as well as those who know that country agree that such a post would be very useful in holding the Iroquois and even the English in check and in preventing the latter from occupying that region, it is His Majesty's wish that they again examine together, without calling in the inhabitants, the means which might be used to found this post, and without renewing the war with the Iroquois which absolutely must be avoided. His Majesty hopes that if they take up this affair with the intention of making it succeed, they will find a way to do so, and at the same time will avoid the difficulties which at first were feared.
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> With regard to the means proposed by the said Sieur de Lamothe, such as bringing Sisters thither, it would be out of the question to adopt all such means from the very beginning. The most suitable means should be chosen at first, and the others may be useful as time goes on. His Majesty will be waiting to hear from them. If, however, the plan appears

> practicable, and if the apprehended difficulties can somehow be overcome, he wishes them to begin establishing this post this very year [1700]. To this effect, he is sending the said Sieur de Lamothe back to Quebec so that he may be employed in carrying out the plan. But if the plan is impracticable, he wishes them to let him return to France on the flute *La Seine* to attend to his private affairs.
>
> His Majesty has also examined the proposal of Sieur Charron, director of the hospital of Montreal. It has practically the same objective as the proposal of Sieur de Lamothe Cadillac. He wants them to examine it also, and use what appears best and most practicable, so that, by combining these two plans and making use of what appears best in each, the possession of the lakes can be made secure, the English prevented from establishing themselves there, and the Indians kept friendly toward us by selling them goods at low prices, and at the same time preventing men from ranging the woods. His Majesty still looks upon this last as the cause of the misfortunes of the colony. He will be waiting for an account of their decision with regard to these proposals, with the execution of which, he repeats, he permits them to proceed, unless they meet with insuperable impediments and inconveniences.[16]

Accordingly, Cadillac had to go back to Canada and convince Callières that the difficulties were not insuperable. He was so confident of ultimate success that on his return, he took along two masons, two carpenters, and two joiners. They all sailed together on the *Seine*.[17] The king's memorandum left no doubt that some sort of post somewhere along the Strait would have to be founded. Although Louis XIV did not give a positive order to proceed in spite of all difficulties, he plainly indicated that the officials of New France should do their utmost to begin such an establishment. The ways and means, and the choice of plans, were left to their discretion; but no matter what plan might be chosen, Cadillac was to be employed for its execution.

When the *Seine* cast anchor at Quebec late in the summer of 1700, the colony was fervently hoping that the peace negotiations with the Iroquois would succeed and that the state of war which had prevailed since the Rat killed the peace in 1688 would at last come to an end. Peace was concluded on September 3, 1700, and the treaty was signed on August 4, of the following year. This was favorable to Cadillac's plan, and he did not fail to make the most of it, as appears from the official despatch sent to Paris in October, 1700.

> Since His Majesty is so much interested in our beginning a settle-

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[16] Louis XIV to Callières and Champigny, May 5, 1700, AC, B 22: 96–97v.

[17] Estat des officers et autres a qui le roy a accordé passage sur la flutte La Seine, AC, B 22: 116.

> ment along the Strait, and since the greatest obstacle was the war with the Iroquois,—an obstacle now removed owing to the peace concluded with those Indians,—Sieur de Callières will send Sieur de Lamothe with a sufficient number of men to take possession of this post next spring, as it is impossible to do it sooner. By way of precaution, we shall prepare the minds of those Indians [Iroquois] this winter, lest they take umbrage, and lest the peace just concluded be jeopardized.
>
> As the upkeep of this post would cause considerable expenses to His Majesty if trade were not allowed, we shall send merchandise from the king's warehouse as we did for Fort Frontenac... Since the king forbids all officers to trade, and since Sieur de Lamothe will be unable to subsist on his pay, it will be necessary for His Majesty to give a suitable allowance to him as well as to Sieur Tonti, whom, Sieur de Lamothe told us, he proposed to you.[18]

Callières' personal letter to Pontchartrain further hints at what Cadillac said about the attitude of the Court with regard to the founding of the post.

> From the joint letter [quoted above] you will see, my Lord, that next spring I shall send Sieur de Lamothe with Sieur de Tonti to build a fort along the Strait... I shall apply myself all the more willingly to that establishment, inasmuch as Sieur de Lamothe assured me that you desired it, for I have nothing more at heart than to accomplish your good pleasure.
>
> Sieur de Lamothe and Tonti are well qualified for that enterprise, but I trust you will be so kind as to procure for them an increase of pay to enable them to live there.[19]

Cadillac had evidently persuaded the two officials in Quebec that Pontchartrain himself wanted the post. Detroit's failure, he wrote later, was the minister's concern; as for himself, he washed his hands of the whole business.

Champigny's letter of October, 1700, contains little about the foundation of the post. In obeying the orders received from Paris, he availed himself of the instructions of the king, and the freedom to select the plan—and he chose that of Charron.[20] Cadillac was too shrewd to protest at this stage. It would involve more correspondence with Paris, and possibly a journey to France with the result that someone else might be sent to found the post. Once in command of the new post, he could somehow so handle the situation that his own plan would be substituted for the plan of Charron. A letter which he wrote to Pontchartrain at this time does not seem to be extant,[21] but we have a long and illuminating letter to Lagny (?) dated October 18, 1700.[22]

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[18] Callières and Champigny to Pontchartrain October 18, 1700, AC, C 11A, 18: 16–16v.

[19] Callières to Pontchartrain, October 16, 1700, AC, C 11A 18: 67v–68.

[20] Cadillac to Pontchartrain, September 25, 1702, *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society* (MPHS), 33: 146.

He has been chosen, he says, to found a post on the Strait which separates the Lake Huron from Lake Erie. There has been too much delay as it is, for the English are threatening to build posts on Lake Erie, and they have already erected a fort on a river which discharges into Lake Ontario. "If our colony were not so full of envy, disunion, cabals and intrigues, no opposition would have been offered to the taking possession" of so advantageous a post. "The former ill-timed objections, to the effect that this post would keep us forever at war with the Iroquois, are now removed by the peace concluded with them." The strength of the Indians lies in their remoteness from the French. As soon as they are all within easy reach, he said, they will be kept in awe by the display of French power.

This last assertion is false. It is intended as an answer to the serious objection of the Paris critic of the original plan, namely, that it would be unwise to settle a great number of Indians in one place because they could not be resisted if they then decided to shake off the French yoke. To forestall this eventuality, it would be necessary to foster disunion among the various tribes, thus causing endless disputes, brawls, and bloodshed. This is aside from the difficulty of having the Indians live at peace with one another, which was next to impossible, as Champigny had pointed out in the preceding year; and Cadillac himself had written to Lagny, namely, that to prevent the various nations of the Northwest from killing one another was an almost impossible task.

At the time of writing this letter, he knew that Charron's plan was to be tried. This seems to have been simply a matter of founding a post similar to the other posts of the Northwest, and sending a small garrison to the spot. To take command of such a post was by no means a promotion for one who had been the commandant of Michilimackinac with authority over all the posts in the West. Moreover, since all trading was forbidden, the game would not be worth the candle, as he himself said in another connection. His letter indicates how little he relished the idea: "It will be futile to establish this post if they do not comply with my memorandum; for, if nothing but a garrison is maintained there, it will be subject to the revolutions which usually take place in a frontier post, and it will make no impression on the minds of the Iroquois, to say nothing of the English."

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[21] Cf. Pontchartrain to Cadillac, May 31, 1701, AC, B 22: 221v–222.

[22] Cadillac to [Lagny?], October 18, 1700, AC, C 11E, 14: 56–69, printed in Margry, 5: 166–172.

In order to succeed, he says the following measures must be adopted. Begin the post as soon as possible, with fifty soldiers and fifty Canadians, so as to squelch any claim which the English may think they have to that territory. "A year later, when the fort has been made secure against insult, it will be well to allow twenty or thirty families to settle there, and to bring their cattle and other necessary equipment, which they will be glad to do at their own expense. This policy may then be continued, as it is permitted in all the other settlements of the colony." Why, it may be asked, should the settlers in Lower Canada abandon their land and "be glad" to go to the new post, especially if the moving was to be at their own expense? He suggests no answer to this question. The next year, that is the third year after the foundation of the post, two hundred soldiers are to be sent who should, as far as possible, be skilled in different trades.

In order to anticipate all complaints from settlers and traders at the other posts, there is to be no trading at this one. With only 1,000 livres pay and no trade, Cadillac will be unable, he says, to "continue his services in the style due to His Majesty," whose representative he is, for his whole pay will barely suffice to entertain the Indian chiefs at an occasional dinner. He goes on to outline his plans for missionaries:

> We must establish at this post missionaries of different communities, such as Jesuits and other Fathers as well as priests of the Foreign Missions. They are all laborers in the vineyard of the Lord and should be taken in indiscriminately. Special orders should be given to teach French to the young Indians since this is the only means to civilize and humanize them, and to instill into their hearts and minds the law of religion and of the king . . . but in order to ensure greater success, the king should favor these same missionaries with his bounty and alms in proportion as they instruct the children of the Indians in their houses, the evidence of which will be given by the commandant and other officers.
>
> The third and fourth year, we shall be able to have Ursulines and other Sisters there, to whom His Majesty might grant the same favor.

Later still, a hospital for Indians could be founded. Frenchmen should be allowed to marry Indian girls, "when these have been instructed in religion and know the French language, which they will learn all the more eagerly (provided we labor carefully to that end), because they always prefer a Frenchman as a husband to any Indian whatsoever." In the ninth and last article, Cadillac indulged in a reference to the classics. Marriages between the French and Indians will strengthen the friendship between the two races, "as the alliances of the Romans perpetuated peace with the Sabines through the intervention of the women whom the former had taken from the others." The point is somewhat weakened by the fact that both Romans and Sabines were of the same racial stock.

This plan, he claims, will redound to the glory of the king and of God. It will firmly establish the true religion among these tribes and put an end to the "deplorable sacrifices which they offer to Baal." He begs his correspondent to obtain from Pontchartrain the rank of ensign for his eldest son whom he is taking with him. He also notes that he is one of the ten persons chosen by the new Company to handle its affairs. Two deputies have been sent to France to have the king approve a new contract for the exclusive trade in beaver pelts, and he hopes that these deputies will carry out their commissions more effectively than their predecessors.

In order to explain the early history of Detroit, a few words should be said about the Company to which Cadillac alludes.[23] After the suppression of congés in 1696, the revenue contractors still had their stock of pelts and were bound by their contract to buy at a fixed price all pelts brought to their warehouses. In 1699, the people of Canada sent delegates to France who on February 9, 1700, secured a decree of the Council of State transferring to the inhabitants the rights formerly belonging to Guige, one of the revenue contractors.[24] When these delegates returned to Quebec, a "meeting of the inhabitants of the three estates" of the colony ratified the deed. A new company, La Compagnie de la Colonie, was quickly formed, in which everybody took shares.[25] Cadillac himself, who was the tenth on the list, pledged 1,000 livres.[26] The new capitalists "canceled the contract which Pascaud had made with Rodes," and on the following day, the shareholders appointed seven directors as well as two delegates, Aubert de la Chesnaye and Delino,[27] who were sent to France, to protect the interests of the new company.

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[23] "The directors of the 'Company of the Colony' were the Jesuits... M. Cadillac was a zealous Catholic... but he was a Franciscan, and a cordial hater of the Jesuits." E. M. Sheldon, *The Early History of Michigan from the first Settlement to 1815*, New York and Chicago, 1856, 99. Cf. the comments of Richard R. Elliott, in *The Genesis of the French History of Detroit* (n. p., 1892), 5.

[24] Decree of the Council of State, February 9, 1700, AC, F3, 8: 149–153.

[25] E. Richard, ed., *Supplement to Dr. Brymner's Report on Canadian Archives, 1899*, Ottawa, 1901, 101.

[26] AC, F3, 8: 192.

[27] *Ibid.*, 218–219v.

The directors soon petitioned Callières to ask Pontchartrain that the "trade at Fort Frontenac and [at the post to be built] on the Strait be granted them to the exclusion of everybody else." In his letter to the minister, Callières refers to this as a most unjust request, which he had refused to grant, for if the Company is granted the exclusive privilege to trade in all the posts, the ruin of the colony is sealed. Callières could not understand why Champigny should be in favor of such a monopoly, and why he should lend his support to the petition of the directors.[28] Nevertheless, the argument of the delegates in France prevailed, and they were granted this exclusive right. Pontchartrain notified Cadillac of this decision in his letter of May 31, 1700, and promised to urge the Company to give him an increase of salary which would last as long as he remained at the new post.[29]

The events which hastened Cadillac's departure to Detroit are detailed in a memorandum addressed to Pontchartrain by Le Roy de la Potherie late in 1702.[30] After giving his views about the governor, the intendant, the troops, and the cause of the famine of 1700-1701, La Potherie goes on to the matter of the "Strait between the two lakes."

> Last year [1701], it was said in Quebec that although you had given orders to M. de Lamothe to begin the post on the Strait, you had nevertheless left the ultimate decision to MM. de Callières and de Champigny, telling them to take whatever action was required by the state of affairs in the colony. There is a rumor, my Lord, to the effect that M. de Callières raised difficulties with regard to this undertaking so as to force M. de Lamothe to take M. de Tonti along, but most likely M. de Lamothe anticipated the governor's wishes in this matter.

Why Callières should use pressure to send Tonti off with Cadillac, we do not know. While in Paris, Cadillac was on very friendly terms with Tonti's brother,[31] and on this expedition he had everything to gain by associating himself with Tonti who was a seasoned western trader.

Preparations for the journey were made at Montreal, to the consternation of the "merchants, who were in despair at the thought of founding that establishment. Manthet (an officer, brother of Courtemanche and captain of the guards of M. de Callières), M. Leber, the richest merchant of the colony, and Paquot's wife, vociferously objected to Cadillac's departure." At this juncture, the ship l'*Atlante* reached Quebec with the news that the *Neptune* was due to arrive soon. Those opposed to Cadillac's expedition realized the need of acting at once, and hastily drew up a petition to Callières.

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[28] Callières to Pontchartrain, November 9, 1700, in Margry, 5: 172–174.

[29] Pontchartrain to Cadillac, May 31, 1701, AC, B 22: 222–222v. The draft is on the back of Cadillac's letter of October 18, 1700, AC, C 11E, 14: 59, printed in MPHS, 33: 100–101.

[30] This undated memoir is in AC, F3, 2: 255–268, printed in the *Bulletin des recherches historiques*, 22 (1916): 214–226; extracts in Margry, 5: 180–186.

[31] Tremblay to Glandelet, May 7, 1700, Archives of the Seminary of Quebec (Laval University), *Carton* O, n. 28, p. 36.

La Potherie gives the following reasons for the widespread feeling at Montreal against Cadillac and his projected post on the Strait. First, the western Indians would find it much more convenient to go to Detroit than to Montreal. Second, most of those Indians were heavily in debt to the Montreal merchants, and would bring their pelts to Cadillac's post instead of paying their more distant creditors. Third, the Montreal fair was the most lucrative event of the year for retail merchants, interpreters and others, who relied on what they earned during the fair to support their family for the rest of the year; but once a post established at Detroit, all this would be gone.

The merchants' hastily prepared petition was not presented to Callières after all, for those who were loudest in their protests underwent a sudden and complete change of attitude. This change can hardly be explained unless one postulates the following reasoning on the part of the objectors. If the *Neptune* did not bring them the desired trade monopoly, they could console themselves by reflecting that they had already sold their merchandise for a good price. On the other hand, if the monopoly came they would have what they wanted, for they were the shareholders of the new Company. At any rate, La Potherie's next words give us a clear idea of what the people of Montreal thought about Cadillac himself: "MM. de Lamothe and Tonti left shortly afterwards. As it is known that the former is not quite in odor of sanctity, and since everyone knows, too, that he was commandant at Michilimackinac he made plenty of money by selling brandy, for which he was reproached by the missionaries, it is thought that this expedition will not be less profitable to him."[32]

The departure of Cadillac's expedition before the arrival of the *Neptune* might well have aroused suspicion when reported by Callières to the authorities in Paris. Fortunately, the governor had a more convincing explanation to give for allowing Cadillac to leave at once, and so had no need of referring in his report to the impending arrival of the *Neptune.* In May 1701, Teganisorrens and other Iroquois chiefs were in Montreal, having come to sign the treaty of peace concluded in the preceding year. They naturally objected to the building of a fort on the Strait, and Teganisorrens asked Callières to wait until all the chiefs had arrived before dispatching the convoy, so that this important matter might be discussed before the general assembly.[33]

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[32] "On a jugé que ce voyage là ne luy vaudroit pas moins," and not as Margry has "On a jugé que ce voyage là ne luy vaudroit rien."

> But since he apparently had no official commission to speak about this business, I did not discontinue the preparations for the undertaking, fearing that if the coming chiefs were to ask me not to found this post and if I were to refuse their request, this might prove an obstacle to the peace. On the other hand, if they found the matter all settled and Sieur de Lamothe gone, I thought they would not mention it. This is just what happened. I actually convinced them that we had good reasons for founding this establishment, in spite of their suspicions which had been instilled in their minds by the English; for the latter, as I learned last winter, intended to go thither.[34] This was an added reason for hastening the departure of Sieur de Lamothe and allowing him to take a convoy as strong as he did, lest the English should be there before we were.[35]

On June 4, 1701,[36] "Sieur de Lamothe and Tonti,[37] captains, and the half-pay lieutentnts, Dugué[38] and Charconacle,[39] set out with one hundred soldiers and settlers,[40] in twenty-five boats loaded with provisions, goods, stores and necessary tools, to extablish the post on the Strait."[41] With the convoy went a Recollect, Father Constantin de l'Halle,[42] as chaplain of the troops, and a Jesuit missionary for the Indians, Father François de Gueslis. According to Tonti, they went "by way of the Ottawa River, because our general [Callières] did not think it advisable to let us go by the easier and shorter Niagara route,[43] for he wished to maintain peace with the Iroquois."[44]

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[33] The speech of this Indian and the answer of Callières are in AC F3, 8: 231–232v.

[34] The English were prevented by the Iroquois from building a fort on the Strait. Cf. *ibid.*, 231, and La Potherie's memoir in *Bulletin des recherches historiques*, 22 (1916): 22.

[35] Callières to Pontchartrain, October 4, 1701, in Margry, 5: 199.

[36] This date is given by Callières in his letter to Pontchartrain of October 4, 1701, Margry, 5: 190, the translation in MPHS, 33: 107, has August 7. The joint letter of Callières and Champigny, October 5, 1701, AC, C 11A, 19: 14v, had the beginning of June. Tonti in his letter dated Detroit September 1, 1701, has June 5; and Cadillac gave June 2, in 1702, and June 5, in 1704, MPHS, 33: 137, 202.

[37] This was Alphonse Tonti. In the list of the officers in New France, Callières noted; "Le sieur de Tonti, au Detroit, Bon officer et capable." *Bulletin des recherches historiques*, 26 (1920): 325.

[38] Jacques du Gué. He is listed by Callières among the lieutenants. "Le sieur Duguay, natif de Canada. Il est détaché au Détroit. Bon officier." *Ibid.*, 330.

[39] The name of this officer is spelled in various ways, Chacornales, Charconade, Chacornacle. He came to Canada in 1694. In 1700, he was sent to Fort Frontenac to arrest Louvigny (Callières to Pontchartrain, October 16, 1700, NYCD, 9: 714). He was back in Quebec from Detroit at the beginning of October (Callières and Champigny to Pontchartrain, AC, C 11A, 19: 16), for he had obtained leave to go to France on May 1, 1701 (AC, B 22: 200v). Between 1702 and 1707, his name does not appear in the correspondence concerning the Northwest. All we know is that he died before November 11, 1707. AC C 11A, 26: 205.

[40] Cf. Cadillac to Pontchartrain, November 14, 1704, MPHS, 33: 202. For their names, see Appendix.

The party came down Lake Huron and the St. Clair River, and crossed Lake St. Clair. On July 24, Cadillac "arrived at the mouth of that river . . . and after having looked for a suitable place built a fort,"[45] on both sides of Shelby Street, between Wayne and Griswold.[46] In his letter, Tonti tells us that they took care to build the fort at a point "where the river is narrowest, only a gunshot wide; at all other points it is fully a fourth of a league wide," *i.e.*, about 3700 feet. From the foot of Woodward Avenue, Detroit, across to Ouellette Street, Windsor, the Detroit River is 2460 feet, which is of the second width mentioned by Tonti. He then explains the reason for selecting this spot. From Detroit, he says,

> The land extends northward [*i.e.*, eastward] to the Miami country, where there is a river by which one can reach that country in six days, whence it is easy to go to the Mississippi. To the southward [*i.e.*, northeastward], is a stretch of land at the foot of Lake Huron ending at Toronto on Lake Ontario. The Strait is one hundred leagues away from Michilimackinac, and one hundred leagues beyond Niagara which is one hundred and fifty leagues from Montreal. If this post is permanently established, we have decided to build boats at Cataracouy and convey all necessary sup-

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[41] Callières and Champigny to Pontchartrain, October 5, 1701, AC, C 11A, 19: 14v, printed in Margry, 5: 187.

[42] He came to Canada in 1696, and was killed by the Miami in 1706. For the narratives of his death, see MPHS, 33: 273, 435.

[43] The governor had determined upon this route in the previous year. Cf. Callières to Pontchartrain, October 16, 1700, AC, C 11A, 17: 67v.

[44] Tonti to............? September 1, 1701, from a contemporary copy in the E. E. Ayer Collection of the Newberry Library, Chicago. Four copies of this letter are extant. One in BN, Mss. fr. 9097: 24–25v, dated September 20; another in AC, C 11E, 14: 132–133, printed in MPHS, 33: 131 f; and the fourth in the Library of Congress, printed by Shea in the Cramoisy Series, no. 20, under the title "Relation du Destroit extraite d'une lettre écrite à Monsieur de Pontchartrain," *Relation des Affaires du Canada en 1696*, New York, 1865, 37–42, translated in The *Wisconsin Historical Collection*, 16 (1902): 127–130. The addressee may have been Villermont, certainly not Pontchartrain.

[45] Callières and Champigny to Pontchartrain, October 5, 1701, AC, C 11A, 19, printed in Margry, 5: 189. In 1704, Cadillac gives the date of his landing as July 29, MPHS, 33: 202.

[46] See the superimposed plan in C. M. Burton, *Cadillac's Village*, Detroit, 1896, facing p. 8.

> plies to Niagara. There we shall build a fort, and have carts kept there to portage merchandise. The merchandise will then be loaded on other boats and brought here. From here the goods can be sent to the Miami country, to Chicago, and to Green Bay, to be used in trade with the tribes, which are very numerous.

The building of the fort was completed about a month after the arrival of the convoy. It consisted of a square enclosure one acre in area, surrounded with oak stakes fifteen feet high which went three feet into the ground. There were four bastions, and each curtains measured thirty fathoms. The south side of the enclosure was forty feet from the river's edge, and the gentle slope formed a natural glacis.[47]

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[47] The details of this description are taken from the letter of Callières and Champigny to Pontchartrain, October 5, 1701, AC, C 11A, 19: 16, printed in Margry, 5: 189; and from Tonti's letter.

APPENDIX

Furent Presens Messire Jean Bochart, cheuallier, Seigneur de Champigny et Noroÿ Cons^{er} du Roy En ses Conseils, Intendant de Justice police et finances en tout ce pays de la nouvelle france faisant pour et au nom de sa majesté d'une part et Louis Babie de Champlain, Laurent Renauld du Montreal, Charles Dazé de La riuiere des prairies, Jacques Lemoine de Batiscan, Claude Creuier des trois riuieres, René Besnard Bourioly des trois riuieres, françois Benoit dit Liuernois de longueil, pierre Moriceau du Montreal, Charles Cusson du Montreal, Jean Lemire dit Marsolet du montreal, Jean Baptiste guay du Montreal, Jacques Brisset de lisle du pas, francois frigon de Batiscan, pierre Lagrave du montreal, (andré Babeuf de la prairie, deleted) Pierre St. Michel, Michel Roy de s^{te} anne, Edmon Roy dit Chatelreau de s^{te} anne, Simon Ballarge du cap de la magdeleine, Claude Riuard lorangé de batiscan, Mathurin feuilleuerte, Jean Turcot de charlebourg, Jean Baptiste Montmelian s^{t} germain de quebec, pierre desautels dit Lapointe, henry belle isle chirurgien, louis fafart lonual des trois riuieres, francois pancho de batiscan, Jean Baptiste Vanier de charlebourg, pierre toupin de beauport, rené Lintot des trois riuieres, Joseph Cartyé, Jacques duran, pierre Colet de quebec, Alexis lemoine de batiscan, louis Chaüuin du montreal, gabriel obuchon du montreal, latoür du montreal, lambert Cuillerié du montreal, pierre Roy de s^{te} anne, louis Vaudry du montreal, pierre Richard du montreal, Louis Badaillac du Montreal, Guill. Vinet dit La Rente, Jean Baptiste Gatineau & Louis gatineau dit Lameslée

Tous voyageurs Estant de present En Cette ditte ville, d'autre part, Lesquelles partyes ont fait le marché Et Engagemens quy en suiuent Sçavoir que led. voyageurs se sont volontairement de leurs bons gré Engagés, promis, et promettent de servir fidelement le Roi, d'aller au detroit sous la conduite du sieur de Lamote Cadillac quy va comander audit lieu du detroit sous les ordres de Mons^{r} Le Cheuallier de Callieres gouuerneur et lieutenant general pour le Roy En tout ce paÿs de la nouuuelle france, auquel ou a celuy qui Comandera a sa place, lesdits voyageurs promettent d'hobéir de trauailler, Et de faire tout ce qujl leur Comandera, pendant lequel temps lesd. voiageurs ne pourront faire aucune traite á leur profit directement ny Indirectement En quelque manierre que ce soit soüs les pejnes portées par les ordonnances, Et de perte de leur gages Et sallaires cy apres declares, Ce marché fait a la charge que lesd.

Engages seront nourris aux despens du Roy suiuant luzage des voyageurs, Et outre leur sera payé en cette ville ou a leur procureur fondé de procura[t]ion en bonne forme passé devant No^{re}, pour chacune annee de service a comancer au premier Juin prochain, Sçauoir a chacun desd. louis babie, laurant renauld, charles dazé, Jacques lemoine, Claude Creuier, rené Besnard bourjolj, francois benoit dit liuernois, pierre moriceau, Charles Cusson, Jean lemire dit marsolet, Jean baptiste guay, Jacques brisset, françois frigon, pierre lagraue, (andré babeuf, deleted), Michel roy, Edmon Roy dit chatelreau, Simmon bailliarge, claude riuard lorangé, mathurin feuilleuerte, Jean turcot, Jean Baptiste Montmelian s^{t} germain, pierre s^{t} michel, Gatineau Duplessy, Desautels, et belle isle

La somme de trois cens liures Monnoye de france qui fait du paÿs celle de quatre cens liures, Et a chacun desd. louis fafard lonual, francois pancho, Jean baptiste vanier, pierre Toüpin, rené lintot, Joseph Cartier, Jacques durant, pierre Colet, alexis lemojne, louis chaüuin, gabriel obuchon, latour, lambert Cuillerié, pierre roy, louis Vaüdry, pierre richard, Louis badaillac la plante [sic], Guill. vinet La Rente, Louis gastineau Lameslee.

La somme de deux cens vint Cinq liures aussi monnoje de france qui fait trois cent liures du paÿs, pour leurs gages Et Sallaires de Ladite annee, Est Conuenu que les peaüx des bestes que lesditz voyageurs tueront La moitié leur appartiendront quils remetront au magazin qui sera Estably audit lieu du detroit, dont ils retireront [one word illegible] du garde magazin la moitié desquelles pelleteries leur seront payez sur le poix qui sera conuenu aud. lieu du detroit sinon lesd. pelleteries seront descendues En Cette ditte ville aux depens du roy Et Estans En Cette dite ville la moitïé djcelles appartiendront au Roy, Et l'autre moitié ausd. voyageurs. Lesql En cas de maladie seront traites au depens du Roy par le chirurgien qui monte aud. detroit, & que Les armes desdits voyageurs seront raccomodés aussy aux depens du Roy, leur sera Loisible de prendre des peaux de bestes quils tueront pour leur [one word illegible] souliers sauvages pour Leur usage Et a la fin de la premiere année du prnt engage [one word illegible] voyageurs de quitter led. service En advertissant Led Sr de la mothe par le prem. Convoy qui dessendra. Car ainsy a esté accordé Entre lesd. parties promettant &c, obligeant &c, renoncant &c, fait Et passé aud. Villemarie en l'hostel de Mondit seigneur lintendant Lan mil sept cent un le vint septième Jour de may auant midy (Et a mondit seigneur lintendant signé auec, these words are deleted) En presence des Sieurs Antoine hatanuille et pierre Rivet praticiens temoins aud. villemarie sous-

ignés avec Mondit Seig. Lintendant nommé et no^{re} babie [one word illegible] Edmond et pierre [*i.e.,* Michel] Roy, montmelian, daré, frigon, mathurin, trois Rivard freres Collet, Alexis lemoyne Brisset latour, belle isle, toupin, Lemire, Chauvin, Renaud, Lemoyne Lintost Gatineau longval, bourjoly, claude crevier et Lambert Cuilerié Les autres susnommés ont declaré ne scavoir lire ni signé de ce enquis suivant Lord^{ce}

Bochart Champigny

Michel Roy
Edmon Roy
Pierre Colet
françois riuard
Jacque brissette
Pierre toupin
Laurent renaud
L gatineau
Bourjolly

Monmillian
J f. frigon
Claude Riuard
puvve vos [?]
Latour
Lemire
Le Moyne
Claude Crevier
Lonual
hatanuille
Adhemar.

Louis Babie
Charle dazé
Mathurin Riuard
Alexis lemoyne

henry Bel Ile
Chauuin
Rene linctot

Lambert Cuillerier
Rivet

The following is the alphabetical list of the men who accompanied Cadillac in 1701, the builders of Detroit. In some cases it is impossible to identify the men themselves, because of lack of data. Besides those mentioned in this list, seven more made the voyage: Pierre Gauvrault, Etienne Volant, Bertrand Arnault, Jacques Viger, François Fafart *dit* de Lorme, Pierre Verdon, and Joseph Brault *dit* Pominville. They were all engaged to Champigny on the 27, 28, 31 of May, and on June 3, 1701.

To identify them use was made of C. Tanguay, *Dictionnaire généalogique des familles canadiennes,* volume 1; the "Répertoire des engagements pour l'ouest," in the *Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Quebec pour 1929–1930,* pp. 195 ff; the *Jugements et délibérations du Conseil Souverain de la Nouvelle-France,* volumes 4, 5, and 6; the *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society,* volumes 33 and 34; the *Inventaire des insinuations du Conseil Souverain de la Nouvelle-France*; the *Inventaire d'une collection de pièces judiciaires, notariales, . . . conservées au archives judiciaires de Québec;* and the baptismal register of Detroit.

ARNAULT, BERTRAND. Son of Bertrand and Marguerite Du Musay. Baptized . . . ; married (1) to Jeanne Pellerin on November 26, 1685, and (2) to Louise De Xaintes, on January 12, 1688. While her husband was in Detroit, she was accused of having murdered her child; she was acquitted. At the beginning Arnault was a friend of Cadillac, he was godfather to Marie-Thérèse Cadillac; later, the two quarrelled.

BABIE, LOUIS. Son of Jacques and Jeanne Dandonneau. Baptized in 1674. In 1703, he was accused of having traded at Detroit; and in 1717, his name appears in the Detroit correspondence.

BADAILLAC, LOUIS. All that Tanguay has is that he married Catherine Delalore. In the two following years, his name occurs in two acts as being engaged to the Company of the Colony. The records of the Conseil Souverain show him accused of selling brandy to the Indians; he was found not guilty.

BAILLARGÉ, SIMON. I have not found any details about this man. All that we know is that he was engaged by Duluth for the voyage of Michilimackinac in 1694.

BELISLE, HENRY LAMARRE DIT. Son of Antoine and Marguerite Levasseur. Married (1) to Catherine De Mosny, and (2) to Marie Françoise Dandonneau on May 9, 1711, in Detroit. Tanguay lists him as "médecin." He seems to have remained in Detroit, for his name appears in many acts between 1707 and 1710; in 1706, he was godfather to a daughter of Pierre Roy and Marguerite 8abankik8é.

BENOIT DIT LIVERNOIS, FRANCOIS. Son of Paul and of Isabelle-Elizabeth Gobinet. Baptized on August 9, 1676; married to Angélique Chagnon in 1710. In 1703, he was accused of trading at Detroit. He continues for a few years as a voyageur; for instance, on April 30, 1704, he hired his services to Marguerite Messier, wife of Le Sueur, to accompany her to Mobile; he then seems to have settled at Detroit.

BESNARD DIT BOURJOLY, RENÉ. Son of René and Marie Sadillot. Baptized on September 23, 1670; married to Geneviève Trotier on January 8, 1711. In 1703, he was accused of trading at Detroit.

BRAULT DIT POMINVILLE, JOSEPH. Son of Henry and Claude De Cheurenville. Baptized on August 24, 1675; married to Marie-Anne Marchand on April 10, 1703; a month later, he was leaving Montreal for Fort Frontenac.

Crevier, Claude. Among the Creviers in Tanguay, I did not find any by the name of Claude; yet, there was a Claude Crevier at Three Rivers, as the following shows: "Claude Crevier et autres habitants de lad. Ville de trois Rivieres."

Cuillerié, Lambert. Son of René and Marie Lucault. Baptized on February 13, 1682; married to Marguerite Menard in 1707. In 1702, he hired himself to Pierre Chartier to go to the Illinois country. He was dead by 1710.

Cusson, Charles. It is possible that there is a mistake in Tanguay or in the list made by Champigny. Two Cussons came to Detroit in 1706, Joseph and Nicolas; they were the youngest sons of Jean Cusson from Three Rivers. There was a Charles Cusson in Montreal as is seen from two acts dated June 9, 1694, to Duluth for Michilimackinac, and September 20, 1694, to Vincennes for the Ottawa country. I cannot reconcile these two acts.

Dazé, Charles. Son of Paul and Françoise Goubillot. Baptized on May 7, 1673; married (1) to Barbe Cartier on November 19, 1696; (2) to Jeanne Chartran. He went to Detroit on July 16, 1702.

Desautels dit La Pointe, Pierre. Son of Pierre and Catherine Lorion. Baptized on September 13, 1677; married to Angélique Thuiller. He went to Detroit in 1703 and 1704.

Duran, Jacques. ? ? ?

Fafart dit De Lorme, Francois. Son of François and Marie Richard. Baptized in 1660; married (1) to Madeleine Jobin on November 3, 1683, (2) to Barbe Loisel on October 30, 1713, at Detroit. He was hired as an interpreter for the Ottawa. Fafart obtained a concession in Detroit in 1707. D'Aigremont wrote in 1708: "The brother of the secretary of the Marquis de Vaudreuil left Detroit a long time ago, my Lord, and the man whom he relieved, who is called Delorme has returned there. The truth is that the latter is a cleverer man than the other, and bears the reputation of an honest man." He signed a petition on June 7, 1710, and was turned out of Detroit in the following year.

Fafart dit Longval, Louis. Son of Louis and Marie Lucas. Baptized on May 19, 1675; buried at Three Rivers on March 2, 1703.

FEUILLEVERTE, MATHURIN. This is the nickname of Rivard. Son of Robert and Madeleine Guillet. Baptized in 1667; married to Françoise Trotier on April 20, 1700.

FRIGON, FRANCOIS. Son of François and Mary Chamboy. Baptized in 1674; married (1) to Madeleine Moreau on February 8, 1700, (2) to Marie-Anne Perrot on June 4, 1714. Although on July 28, 1704, he signed to go to Detroit, he apparently did not leave in that year, for we find him in Quebec on August 18; he went to Detroit in 1705.

GASTINEAU DIT DUPLESSIS, JEAN-[BAPTISTE]. Son of Nicolas and Marie Crevier. Baptized in 1671. He went to Detroit in 1702.

GASTINEAU DIT LAMESLEE, LOUIS. Brother of the preceding (?). Baptized in 1674; married to Jeanne Lemoine on January 22, 1710. In 1708, he is in Detroit, where he is godfather to Marguerite Campeau.

GAUVREAU, PIERRE. Son of Nicolas and Simon Bisson. Baptized on April 7, 1674; married (1) to Marie-Anne Desmony on October 8, 1698, (2) to Madeleine Menage on November 23, 1705.

GUAY, JEAN-BAPTISTE. Son of Gaston and Jeanne Prevost. Baptized in 1668; married to Agnès Simon. Vaudreuil and Begon wrote: "The doors of these forts were made by a man called Guay, a carpenter paid by the king."

LAGRAVE, PIERRE. Son of Pierre and Françoise Ouabanois. Baptized in 1674; buried in Montreal on July 11, 1703.

LATOUR, JEAN. This man is found in 1702 and in 1703, as a hired man for the Company of the Colony to go to Detroit; and again in 1704, when he went to the Ottawa country for J. B. Bissot de Vincennes.

LEMIRE DIT MARSOLET, JEAN. Son of Jean and Louise Marsolet. There were two Jean's in this family, one baptized on February 23, 1671; the other on September 6, 1676, married to Elizabeth Bareau on July 30, 1703. This man was hired by the Company of the Colony to go to Detroit on May 30, 1705.

LEMOINE, ALEXIS. Son of Jean and Madeleine de Chavigny. Baptized on April 14, 1680. He was in Detroit in 1710.

LEMOINE, JACQUES. I did not find anybody by this name in Tanguay; however, he went to Detroit in 1706.

LINCTOT, RENÉ. Son of Michel Godfrey and Perrine Picoté. Baptized on May 17, 1675; married to Madeleine Lemoyne. In 1703, he was one of those accused of trading at Detroit.

MONTMELIAN ST. GERMAIN, JEAN-BAPTITE. ? ? ?

MORISSEAU, PIERRE. Son of Vincent and Marie-Anne Beaumont. Baptized in 1678; married (1) to Catherine Caillonneau, (2) to Marie Jetté on May 12, 1721. In 1702, 1704, and 1705, he went back to Detroit as a hired man of the Company of the Colony.

OBUCHON [AUBUCHON], GABRIEL. Son of Jean and Marguerite Sedilot. Baptized on December 25, 1679.

PANCHO, FRANCOIS ? ? ?

RENAULT, LAURENT. Son of Antoine and Geneviève Plemaret. Baptized in 1669; married to Anne Guyon on December 25, 1695. In an interminable law suit which dragged on for two years, Renault showed how profitable a voyage to Detroit could be.

RICHARD, PIERRE. Son of Guillaume and Agnès Tessier. Baptized on August 8, 1678. He was in Detroit in 1702, and in the following year hired himself to Laurent Renault to go to the Illinois country.

RIVARD DIT LORANGÉ, CLAUDE. Son of Robert and Madeleine Guillet. Baptized . . .; married to Catherine Roy on February 14, 1696. He was in Detroit in 1703. In 1704, Cadillac wrote as follows: "The interpreter whom the late M. de Callières and M. de Champigny had appointed at Detroit has been recalled, because he is an upright and skillful man; and they have put in his place one Rivart, called the orange-man [?!], who does not understand Ottawa, of which he is the interpreter."

ROY, MICHEL. Son of Michel and Françoise Hobbé. Baptized . . .; married to Madeleine Quatresous on February 3, 1712. He returned to Detroit in 1704.

ROY, PIERRE. Married to Marguerite 8abankik8é, a Miami woman. He never left Detroit.

Roy dit Chatelreau, Edmond. Son of Michel and Françoise Hobbé. Baptized . . .; married to Marie Anne Janvier on February 7, 1701. He returned to Detroit in 1704 and in 1705.

St. Michel, Pierre-Francois. Son of François and Marie Madeleine Bertelot. Baptized on March 9, 1680.

Toupin, Pierre. Son of Pierre and Mathurine Graton. Baptized on December 24, 1673.

Turcot, Jean. Son of Antoine and Jeanne Mandin. Baptized . . ., married (1) to Marie Rose, on January 12, 1688, (2) to Geneviève Ayot on December 14, 1712.

Vanier, Jean-Baptiste. Son of Guillaume and Madeleine Bailly. Baptized on June 21, 1681; married (1) to Marie Hot on August 18, 1704, (2) to Marie Chamard on June 13, 1712. He did not go back to Detroit.

Vaudry, Louis. All that we know is that in 1703, he was engaged to Renault and Chauvin for the Illinois country.

Verdon, Pierre. Son of Jean and Marguerite Richer. Baptized on November 28, 1678, married to Marie-Anne Averty on November 6, 1702.

Viger, Jacques. Son of Désiré and Catherine Moitié. Baptized on February 7, 1673, married to Marie-Françoise Cesar on May 30, 1695.

Vinet dit La Rente, Guillaume. Son of Barthélemi and Etiennette Alton, Baptized . . ., married to Marie Denis on January 2, 1715.

Volant, Etienne. Son of Claude and Françoise Radisson. Baptized on October 29, 1664, married to Geneviève Le Tendre on December 9, 1693. Volant was hired by Champigny to be "garde magazin" at Detroit. He signed his name Radisson.

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Portillo of Peru

The Jesuit Approach to Peru

Many writers have assumed or have stated that the widespread activities of the Society of Jesus in the Americas began in Florida in 1566, in Peru in 1568, and in New Spain in 1572. The vanguard of the Jesuits, according to this same approach, was the group of three missionaries sent to aid Pedro Menéndez de Avilés in the evangelization of Florida, while a second group of thirteen led by Father Juan Bautista de Segura arrived in 1568. It is said that they failed completely, like their predecessors, and abandoned the field for Peru and Mexico. These notions stand now in need of considerable revision.

First of all, the American missionary work of the Jesuits was instigated not by Spain but by Portugal.[1] Six months after the papal approval of the new Order in 1540 St. Francis Xavier was sent from Lisbon to Portuguese India.[2] This patron of missionaries inspired succeeding generations of Jesuits to go to pagan lands. The missionary spirit was inculcated at first chiefly in the Jesuit college of Coimbra,[3] where young members of the Order from Spain, France and Italy were sent for training until Philip II allowed their houses to be opened in Spain. The outlet for the missionary spirit was only the Portuguese colonies until 1565 when Philip II reversed his policy and permitted Jesuits to go to his Spanish colonies. Thus, missions were established in India in 1542, in the Moluccas in 1546, in Japan in 1549, and in this same year John III of Porotugal had them sent to his bedraggled colony of Brazil.[4] Next, they went to Ethiopia in 1557, to Monomatapa in 1560, and to Macao in 1565, before the first three arrived from Spain in Florida in 1567. By this time the Jesuit missionary character was well established after field work covering twenty-five years.

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[1] Jerome V. Jacobsen, "Jesuit Founders in Portugal and Brazil," MID-AMERICA, XXIV (January, 1942), 9–10.

[2] J. M. Granero, *La acción misionera y los métodos misionales de San Ignacio de Loyola,* Vol. VI of *Bibliotheca Hispana Missionum,* Burgos, 1931, 30 f.

[3] Francisco Rodrigues, S.J., *Historia da Companhia de Jesus na Assistência de Portugal,* Pôrto, 1931–1938, Tômo I, Vol. I, 442–447.

[4] Francisco Rodrigues, *A Companhia de Jesus en Portugal e nas Missaoes,* 2nd ed., Pôrto, 1935, 8, 14, 19; this is a compendium of facts and tables concerning the Portuguese provinces and missions of the Jesuits.

The correspondence of missionaries in the Portuguese colonies during this period is full of requests for more men for the missions. The letters from Brazil telling of the promise and the wonders of the Americas plead for help in almost every line.[5] There Thomé de Sousa arrived at Bahia on March 29, 1549. With him was Father Manuel da Nóbrega and five companions, the first Jesuits on American soil.[6] Almost immediately this famed founder began to write for more aid, offering as bait a severe life of hardship and possible martyrdom among a primitive and cannibalistic people. Nóbrega's letters are the first of the Jesuit "relations" from the Americas, forerunners of the type of appeal brought into such prominence by Ruben G. Thwaites. They and the letters of the other fathers were read by Jesuits in many of the countries of Europe and in time brought results, though it seems that most of the volunteers for missions asked to be sent to India. However, five of the thirty Jesuits going to Brazil before the Florida expedition were of Spanish origin. It will be interesting to see how knowledge of Spanish-owned Peru arrived at the Jesuit headquarters by the Brazilian-Portuguese route.

The success of Nóbrega, Anchieta, Navarro, Nunes and others in Brazil had much to do with Philip II's decision to let Jesuits enter the Spanish Americas. They had been co-founders of Bahia, the northern colonial capital of Brazil, and they had founded Sao Paulo in the south. Their missions were spreading from coastal centers. Yet Nóbrega had his eyes on the more peaceful tribes of the west in Paraguay and Peru.[7] He had come in contact with some Guaraní who were captives near Bahia, although already christianized. These were freed and returned south to Paraguay in the care of Father Leonardo Nunes. In 1551 this missionary made an extensive journey into the hinterland and wrote a report on his observations over the six months period.[8]

He noted the possibilities for instruction among the christianized Indians. He found that other tribes were asking for instruction. The field, known vaguely as Peru and Paraguay, appeared ripe for the harvest. Thereafter, certain Spaniards visited the South Brazilian coastal town of the Portuguese at Sao Vicente on three occasions, requesting that the fathers go west with them. For two reasons they were not allowed to comply. The land belonged to Spain, and secondly Brazil itself was undermanned. This did not stop the Spanish settlers of Paraguay and Peru from advertising their need for missionaries to Philip II. Lest the Jesuits go to the west and thus leave his colonies in danger of ruin, John III forbade their travel beyond the Line of Demarcation in 1554.[9] Thus, Portuguese Jesuits aroused a keen interest in western South America and western interest was aroused in them. A year after the edict of prohibition Peruvian officials were petitioning the Spanish king for their services.

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[5] Cf. Valle Cabral, ed., *Cartas do Brasil, Cartas Jesuiticas,* Rio de Janeiro, 1931, and *Id. Cartas Avulsas*; Serafim Leite, ed., *Novas Cartas Jesuiticas*, São Paulo, 1940.

[6] Jerome V. Jacobsen, "Nóbrega of Brazil," MID-AMERICA, XXIV (July, 1942), 158.

[7] Serafim Leite, S.J., *História da Companhia de Jesus no Brazil,* Lisbon, 1938, I, 333–335.

[8] *Ibid.* Nunes had with him four interpreters. His letter and report to Nóbrega is dated June 29, 1552; it is given and discussed by Leite in *Novas Cartas Jesuiticas*, 133.

Among the many invitations to the Jesuits to come to various lands was that of Don Andrés Hurtado de Mendoza, newly appointed Viceroy of Peru.[10] With him Francis Borgia, the Jesuit Commissioner of Spain and Portugal, discussed plans early in 1555. At the request of Mendoza, Borgia, supposing that the permission of the King and his Council of the Indies had been obtained, set the wheels in motion to get the Jesuits to Peru. Borgia instructed Miguel Torres, the Provincial of Andalucía, to appoint men for this undertaking and suggested the names of several who might be selected.[11] Torres then sent Fathers Gaspar de Azevedo and Marcos Antonio Fontova to Seville. There they met Mendoza in August, 1555, prepared to accompany him to his new post in Peru. When Mendoza revealed that he had no license to take them out of Spain, they wrote to Borgia asking him to get the permission. Borgia, however, felt that it was the duty of the Viceroy to apply to the Council. There the matter rested. Mendoza went to Peru and the Jesuits went back to their previous work.

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[9] Leite, *História*, I, 337–342.

[10] The Jesuit historians in their histories of the various provinces of the Jesuits almost invariably begin with the invitations offered and petitions to the King, the Council of the Indies, and the Jesuit headquarters. For a summary of these see *Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu*, (hereafter *MHSI*), Vol. 69, *Monumenta Antiquae Floridae*, (*MAF*), Ed. by Felix Zubillaga, Rome, 1946, Preface pages 15–42. For the project of the Viceroy Hurtado de Mendoza see *MHSI*, *Epistolae Borgia*, III, 192–197, Borgia to Miguel Turriano, Córdoba, February 21–27, 1555; also Pablo Pastells, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la Provincia del Paraguay segun los documentos originales del Archivo General de Indias*, Madrid, 1912, I, 85.

[11] *MHSI*, *Epistolae Borgia*, III, 238, Borgia to Loyola, August 23, 1555. Borgia here indicates that the missionaries had not only been appointed but were already on their way through Spain to the embarkation point.

Again in 1559 it seemed probable that Borgia would dispatch six members to Peru. The Conde de Nieva had asked both Borgia and the king for the missionaries.[12] Among those named to go were Father Portillo, rector of the house of probation at Simancas, and Father Bautista de Segura, who was later slain in Virginia. This expedition, too, failed to materialize, although we do not know exactly why, beyond the fact of Philip II's prohibition.

What actually diverted the Jesuits briefly from Peru and brought them to Florida was the glib tongue and business ambition of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés. The story of their fruitless labors and deaths in our southeast has already been told in the previous number of this quarterly.[13] In this is revealed the fact that Florida was only an episode in a world mission plan and in the particular plan of the Jesuits to evangelize Peru. In fact, it was March, 1567, before the first Jesuit, Brother Villarreal, began instructing Florida natives near present Miami, and it was July before Father Rogel began at Charlotte Harbor.[14] Almost at the same time that Villarreal started his work in Tequesta Portillo was appointed Provincial of Peru, March 22, 1567, and by June 14, before Rogel went to Charlotte Harbor, Portillo had urged abandonment of Florida in favor of Peru.[15] However, Menéndez and the King had their way and in August Segura was made Vice-Provincial of Florida, subject to the jurisdiction of the Provincial of Peru. More shall be said of Portillo's stand against the Florida missions. The point is that the Jesuits had rapidly lost interest in Florida.

The reason for this is now clear.[16] Menéndez had misrepresented the land, the people, and his motives. The land was not productive, and was not close to India or the Moluccas, as he had informed the Jesuits. The people were not longing for the gospel or any form of civilization. The Jesuits were not to be missionaries to them, but rather chaplains to soldiers. The project was primarily one of conquest, exploitation, trade, and business, in which the Jesuits wanted to play no part. In this Menéndez had sunk his fortune and ultimately failed. He not only did not support the Jesuits or their missions but on occasions took their supplies. His soldiers and settlers deserted various posts and forced the missionaries to leave or face death at the hands of the Indians. The Jesuits, then, did not fail in evangelizing Florida—they did not really begin their work. Florida appears now as a harrowing episode in their advance to Peru and New Spain, and they lost heavily in the experience.

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[12] *MHSI, Epistolae Borgia,* III, 494–503, and 785–786; these two letters, Borgia to Laínez, June 16–19, 1559, cover what is known of the petition of the Conde de Nieva.

[13] Rosemary Ring Griffin, "Rogel, Padre of the Ports," MID-AMERICA, XXX (January, 1948), 3–43. In this article ample references are given regarding other writers on the Jesuits in Florida.

[14] *Ibid.,* 20–21.

[15] *MHSI, Epistolae Borgia,* IV, 495–498, Portillo to Borgia, July 14, 1567; this is published in *MAF,* 189–191.

[16] The items in this summary paragraph are brought out in Griffin, "Rogel, Padre of the Ports," *loc. cit.* A study on the career of Menéndez prior to his Florida enterprise is in progress at the University of California, Berkeley.

One of the chief opponents to the Menéndez enterprise in Florida was Father Jerónimo Rúiz del Portillo, the appointed Provincial and founder of the Jesuit Province of Peru. On June 26, 1567, he wrote to Borgia:

> In two or three ways I have advised Your Paternity that it has seemed to the Father Provincial of this Province and to the Father Rector of this college and to me that this mission to Florida should not be undertaken at present, until a more complete report is given Your Paternity regarding what may be hoped for from it.
>
> The information which we have from that vicinity concerning those peoples is that they have no villages and thus they are not an organized people but savage. They thrive on killing each other like wild beasts, and they do not unite except when they sense a strange people; they meet in woods and other wild places and afterwards return to their dens; they go about naked and are very treacherous, for which reason there seems to be scant hope of the fruit which our Company expects in the conversion of these infidels. The father and brother who went there with Father Martínez (who is in glory) are still on the island of Havana, and since the land is not disposed to yield fruit they have not gone there: and so they are with the soldiers of Pero Meléndez, etc. Thus, perceiving how different is the information given me here from that which they tell me has come from Pero Meléndez, namely, that the land is densely populated land with an organized people, etc., I would not dare send Padres to that land until I have the decision of Your Paternity.[17]

Portillo goes on to say that he has the king's license to go to Honduras, which he thought would be far more suitable for missionary work than Florida. Two weeks later under date of July 14, 1567, Portillo again wrote to Borgia repeating his distrust of Menéndez and Florida. He adds that Menéndez "has written here saying that, even with 800 soldiers, they did not dare go out from the forts, since each hour the Indians attacked with arrows . . ." Therefore he did not think it advisable to send more men to Florida. "And so, we twelve will go to Peru, five fathers and five brothers," until Florida is pacified, "since our men do not go to conquer but to evangelize."[18]

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[17] *MHSI, Epistolae Borgia*, IV, 486–487, and *MAF*, 181–184.

[18] Cf. note 15, above.

Portillo

The story of Father Jerónimo Rúiz del Portillo is in large part the story of the Jesuit educational and missionary beginnings in Peru. His was the task of organizing and directing the initial activities of the Society of Jesus in the vast viceroyalty and of laying the foundations for the subsequent work of the padres for two centuries to come. For ten years before his departure for Peru he had proved himself a capable founder in Spain when the Society was just beginning its career.

When first we hear of Father Portillo he had already distinguished himself as a theologian, an orator, and an administrator. While accounts testifying to his aptitudes in these regards are not scarce, there seems to be very little information about his early life. In 1519 or 1520 he was born in or near the ancient walled town of Logroño in Old Castile, across the Ebro River from Navarre.[19] Here in the north of Spain among the fertile groves of olive trees and vineyards he passed his youth. He moved southwest for his higher education to the university town of Salamanca, about two-hundred miles from his home. There at an early age he was received into the new Compañía de Jesús, as the Jesuits were known. Still during the lifetime of its founder, St. Ignatius, Portillo was ordained priest in 1554.

Shortly after his ordination Portillo was sent to the Jesuit house at Simancas where he held the office of minister. His duties in this capacity required him to oversee the household affairs and to take care of the health of the members of his community. This was no small task, because the house was the novitiate and the majority of the young men in it were novices whose temporal affairs he had to superintend. His next office meant a change of rooms at Simancas. He was appointed rector and master of novices. We know only that this took place before 1559, for he held this position when Francis Borgia considered him for the Peru beginnings.[20]

In 1560 Portillo was selected to become the rector of the Jesuit college at Valladolid.[21] He spent about five years there, revealing traits that were to be characteristic throughout his life. Humility was a keynote of his personality. His even disposition and serene appearance commanded the respect of those whom he encountered. He was capable of analyzing and treating problems without being handicapped by bias or emotional impulses. Yet, having once reached a decision or once convinced of the correctness of his position, he stood his ground forcefully, as may be seen from his adamant stand against partaking in the Menéndez expedition and from several encounters in Peru. His oratorical ability, which is noted by all who have accorded him even slight mention, was exceptional. His voice rang clearly and his sermons were direct. He could be disturbingly frank without evoking criticism or antagonism. The power that he lent to words made him known to many as "the trumpet of God." Although he could be and frequently was stern in his admonitions, he avoided all semblance of criticism of the man to be admonished and rebuked rather the fault.

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[19] Enrique Torres Saldamando, "El Primero y el ultimo provincial de la Compañía de Jesús en el Peru," *Revista Historico*: Organo del Instituto Historico del Peru, I (1906), 446–449; F. Mateos, Ed., *Historia General de la Compañía de Jesús en la Provincia del Peru, Cronica Anonima de 1600,* I, Introduction, 11. This work has the value of a contemporary document.

[20] *MHSI, Epistolae Borgia,* III, 494–503, especially 501, 502.

[21] Felix Zubillaga, *La Florida, La Missión Jesuítica (1566–1575) y La Colonización Española,* Rome, (1942 ?), 215. For the following character sketch see Mateos, *Historia General,* I, 6–7 of the text; in vol. II the frontispiece is a good photograph of an old painting of Portillo.

When Pedro Menéndez managed to persuade both his king and Francis Borgia to send Jesuits to Florida, Portillo seemed a likely candidate for the superiorship. It was in May of 1565 that the Jesuit Vicar-General noted Portillo's qualifications for the task and recalled his long-expressed desire to serve in the foreign missions.[22] But Portillo had just been appointed vice-provincial of the growing province of Castile and his services in the pulpit and confessional were in demand. Consequently, others were assigned to the Florida field. With this opening of the Americas to the Jesuits now a fact, petitions for them of bishops and others in the colonies continued to reach Madrid and Rome.

At the beginning of 1566 we find Portillo stationed at Valladolid assigned to the chancery office of the diocese as an advisor.[23] There he remained while the fleet carrying the three Jesuits to Florida sailed on June 28. Apparently, in October of this same year he was designated superior of the missionaries in the Americas by Father Borgia, for he writes to the General expressing his happiness on receiving an appointment and instructions in October and November.[24] Moreover, his letters beginning with 1567 indicate that he had considerable to say about the mission in Florida—and its futility.

Indications that Portillo was in charge of the Jesuit affairs in the Americas appear in his letter of January 20, 1567, to Borgia.[25] He writes from Madrid saying that he has conferred with the President of the Council of the Indies who had announced a licence for twenty-four to go to the Indies. He says that only eight are going to Peru, and that eight should be sent to Mexico. The others could be sent possibly to Honduras and Popayán, New Granada. The unwillingness of the Jesuits to participate in the Florida affair and their desire to go elsewhere in the Americas is clear from the letters of the Spanish provincials in the early part of this year.[26] When news of the death of Martínez reached Spain in March the same provincials were loath to release men for any of the Americas. After Portillo was appointed provincial of the province-to-be in Peru, he had a difficult time getting men from the Spanish provinces until Borgia ordered the provincials to make the appointments. Clearly, Portillo was quite able to appreciate the minds of the provincials who did not want to waste men on Florida and he was quite aware also of Borgia's desire to get men into the American field.

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[22] *MAF*, 9, Borgia to González.

[23] *Ibid.*, 32, n. 5, and 45, n. 2, and 59.

[24] *Ibid.*, Preface, p. 44. Portillo's letter here quoted is dated Dec. 2, 1566, which Zubillaga says will be published in the forthcoming Monumenta Peruviae.

It required tact to handle another situation that had developed in Spain. Menéndez wished to obtain as many of the Jesuits as he could and these for Florida alone. Philip II, however, wanted some to go to Peru and to Honduras. On this point Portillo was able to compromise for the time by allowing the Florida mission to continue and by appointing Segura as a vice-provincial in August, 1567.[27] So skeptical was he of the outcome in the wilds of our southeast that he named Father Sedeño as a successor in emergency, and Father Rogel as a third. His letter of July 14, cited above, indicates his distrust of the outcome.

During the early summer Portillo was making arrangements and gathering his men for the journey to the west. He had planned to sail in August from Seville with eleven companions, but the changes made because of the decision to reinforce the Florida group and the shifts in personnel forced him to wait.[28] Whether he paid any farewell visits to friends or relatives remains unknown, but in the course of several months he had assembled his force of helpers at Sanlúcar de Barrameda and had them prepared for the embarkation. His seven companions recruited from the four provinces of Spain were Father Antonio Alvarez and Brother Francisco de Medina from Toledo, Father Diego de Bracamonte and Brother Juan

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[25] *Ibid.*, 161; this letter is given in part by Zubillaga in his preface to Document 48.

[26] *Ibid.*, Documents 46–55, 159–181.

[27] *MHSI, Epistolae Borgia*, IV, 533, 537, 539, 697.

[28] *Ibid.*, 495, Portillo to Borgia from Seville.

García from Andalucía, Father Miguel Fuentes and Brother Pedro Pablo Llovet from Aragon, and Father Luis López, like Portillo, from Castile.[29] They sailed November 1, 1567.[30]

Bon Voyage

After what was for those days a rather quick journey of fifty-two days the ships cast anchor off Cartagena. They had stopped on November 11 at Las Palmas and had resumed their way on the following day. No pirates or storms livened the trip. Disembarking they found shelter in a "hospital" for the poor on Christmas Eve. They spent their Christmas visiting the sick, Spaniards, natives, and Negro slaves alike, and for the remaining ten days of their stay in the walled town they went about hearing confessions, preaching and instructing.

The ship weighed anchor for Nombre de Dios on January 3, 1568. On the way a violent storm nearly wrecked it, but despite the danger Portillo remained perfectly calm without moving from his place.[31] The exact time of their arrival on the north coast of the Isthmus of Panama is not known, but as soon as they left the ship and set foot in Nombre de Dios they made their way to the church to give thanks to God for their safe journey. Here there was no hospice, hence the townsmen lodged them in their various homes. Portillo very soon remedied the housing difficulty. In his preaching he stressed the need for a hospital to such effect that the people contributed 3,000 pesos to start the work.

Within a few days the Black Robes bade adieu to Nobre de Dios, packed their meagre belongings, and took the trail over the eighteen leagues of jungle mountains toward Panamá. Whether they rode the burros or walked appears to be an item of no note. To avoid a welcoming reception they delayed their entry into Panamá until an unseasonable hour, and then hastened to the convent of the Franciscans, where they were hospitably received and given every consideration. Here they would have to wait until a ship was going south to Lima.

During their stay Portillo and the others busied themselves with their customary preaching and administrations of the Sacraments.

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[29] Mateos, *Historia General,* I, Introduction 11, and n. 9. Father Mateos here corrects Sacchini and Astrain regarding Medina; this was Francisco de Medina, not Luis; Mateos also changes the spelling of another name to Llovet, from the more common Lobet found in other authors.

[30] *Ibid.,* I, Text page 7, n. 7; the more common date for the sailing is Nov. 2.

[31] *Ibid.,* I, 8.

From the pulpit the provincial inveighed against avarice which led men to violate contracts and to cheat. The spirit of Panamá was apparently too commercial and injustice too common. Despite his censures the Panamanians contributed 14,000 ducats to the Society to continue its work, and this, it might be added, even though it could be called conscience money by a skeptic, was more than Philip II had contributed. How sore a spot Portillo had touched is revealed by the fact that many came to repent and to resolve to amend their ways. Moreover, the principal merchants, a chamber of commerce as it were, drew up regulations to eliminate cheating and injustice.

Thus affairs continued until February 22, 1568, the embarkation day. The cabildo begged Portillo to remain in Panamá or to assign some of the fathers for work in the city, which, of course, Portillo could not do in the face of his assignment to Peru. To the sadness of all two Jesuits did remain, one forever in Panama. With sanitary conditions such as they were at that time and such as they continued to be until this century, it is little wonder that the perennial fever should stalk the fathers as it had so many other visitors. Father Alvarez became so seriously ill that he could not go aboard. Portillo left him under the care of Brother Medina and a Portuguese carpenter named Juan Ruiz.[32] Alvarez passed away shortly afterward, and Juan Ruiz sailed with Medina for Lima, where he soon joined the Company as a temporal coadjutor, or lay brother.

Portillo and the others navigated the Mar del Sur down the coast of South America to Paita and from Paita to Callao in the record time of thirty-six days.[33] Ordinarily this coastal vessel made the voyage of some 1,300 statute miles against the winds in several or more months, what with delays and stop-overs. They arrived at Paita on March 18 and landed five hundred miles beyond at Callao on Sunday, March 28, 1568. In the little seaport entrance to the kingdom of Peru they stayed until April 1, preaching and hearing confessions.

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[32] Jacinto Barrasa, Ms. Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en el Perú, p. 68. This work has been so often cited that it may be said to be almost published. From the time of its writing at the end of the seventeenth century until 1885 no modern copy was made. For a critical evaluation see Mateos, I, Introduction, 70–76. See also on the Panamá stay Antonio Astrain, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la Asistencia de España*, Madrid, 1902–1925, IV, 308.

[33] Mateos, *Historia General*, I, Introduction, 81, corrects the text, 13–14, which has twenty-six days. Father Anello Oliva, *Historia del Perú y Varones Insignes en Santidad de la Compañía de Jesús*, Lima, 1895, I, 161, follows the anonymous *Historia* in this error; Oliva uses much of the *Historia* in his work, as do other writers on the Jesuit entrance into Peru.

Meanwhile some of the fellow passengers and the seamen of the voyage who had pushed on quickly from the port to Lima, brought word to the capital of the Black Robes. The Lima officials and inhabitants prepared a welcome. First, a deputation from Lima arrived to offer Portillo the respects of Peru. Next, Portillo planned to avoid the reception, as he had done at Panamá, by making an entrance when the citizens were napping or otherwise engaged. In this he was thwarted, since with them on shipboard had been the Vicar General and the Provincial of the Dominican fathers, who had kindly offered the Jesuits the hospitality of the Dominican convent in Lima. The final result was that the religious all traveled together over the eight leagues from Callao to Lima.

The band was received with joy and no little curiosity on the part of the people.[34] Once they were sheltered in the Convent of Rosario, the prominent citizens, the Church dignitaries led by Archbishop Jerónimo de Loaysa, and Garcia de Castro, President of the Audiencia and acting-Governor, made official visits, as was the custom. In response to the welcomes of the people and officials, Father Portillo took the pulpit on the following Sunday, April 4, to express his gratitude and to explain the purpose of the new Societv. He had no sooner made the sign of the cross at the beginning of his discourse than a sharp tremor rocked the church. The congregation rushed out, leaving the preacher alone. When fear of further shocks had vanished the people returned to hear the sermon. The provincial's explanation of the origin, the constitutions, and the work of the Jesuits satisfied his hearers.

The Center at Lima

Portillo could now survey the field of his adoption from his vantage point in the City of the Kings. Peru at the time was only on the threshold of political and religious organization. The era of the individualistic *conquistadores* had been followed by a period of civil disorder that rendered the task of organization difficult, especially in view of the vastness of the viceroyalty, which included practically all of Spanish South America. Much of the land was unexplored, but the key bases for future expansion had been established.

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[34] Mateos, *Historia General,* I, 13–23; Oliva, I, 161–164; Astrain, IV, 308, and others down to Rubén Vargas Ugarte, *Los Jesuítas del Perú,* Lima, 1941, all agree on the welcome and the first days of the fathers in Peru.

While Lima was the capital, the center in the highlands was Cuzco. From this center civilization seemed to have sloped away until it ended among the more savage tribes in Chile, Argentina, the Gran Chaco, western Brazil, and the back lands of Ecuador, Colombia, and Venezuela.

Though the Indians were remarkably quiet during the first twenty years of the Spanish occupation, the newcomers had brought no good examples of the civic quality of order. Only in April, 1548, with the beheading of the revolutionary Gonzalo Pizarro, did some peace begin. Yet by this time there were gold rushes to the mountains and a new and typically lawless mining society was developing. To check the various abuses Spain sent the capable Antonio de Mendoza as viceroy in September, 1551.[35] He died in July of the following year and new troubles came when one Girón led a rebellion against the inefficient authorities. When he was apprehended and executed in 1555 there were about 8,000 Spaniards in all Peru.[36]

The next of the viceroys was Andrés Hurtado de Mendoza, who arrived on June 29, 1556, and clamped an iron hand on the malcontents until his death in 1560. The fourth viceroy, Conde de Nieva Zúñiga, came in 1561 and died in 1564. With three out of four viceroys dying in Peru and the other escaping the rebels by a hair's breadth, the office had little attraction for the Spanish nobility. It was five years before the next arrived, Francisco de Toledo y Figueroa, who ruled from November 30, 1569, till September 23, 1581. Hence, when the Jesuits arrived the Audiencia was in charge.

Religious and educational organization was also just beginning. In 1546, three years after he was appointed Lima's first bishop, Loayza was named archbishop of the area from Nicaragua to Chile. By 1568 there were thirteen dioceses from Panamá through Spanish South America, but only seven had bishops.[37] The Order of St. Dominic was the first established in Lima.[38] In 1538, a band of twelve reinforced the few who had established the convent of San Rosario in 1535. Then followed the Franciscans, the Mercedarians, and the Augustinians until all convents by 1551. Even so, the number of workers was far too few for the widespread kingdom of Peru. These, besides caring for the parochial needs and caring for Indians in and near the chief cities, had begun to instruct the children in parochial schools. The most notable begnning in higher education had been made by the Dominicans when their lecture courses at San Rosario developed a desire for a university and when the University of San Marcos of Lima was established in 1553.[39]

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[35] Arthur S. Aiton, *Antonio de Mendoza, First Viceroy of New Spain*, New York, 1927.

[36] Bernard Moses, *Spanish Rule in America*, New York, 1929, 134.

[37] F. X. Hernáez, *Documentos Relativas a la Iglesia de América*, Brussels, 1879, II, 124–125, 127, 145, 156, 165, 169, 178, 184, 256, 292, 299–305, 317–325, gives sixteen papal Bulls erecting the dioceses.

[38] José Gabriel Navarro, "Fundación de Conventos en la America Español," *Boletín de la Academia Nacional de Historia*, Quito, XXIII (1943), 22–23. Fernando Montesinos, *Anales del Peru*, Madrid, 1906, I, 201.

Having glanced at conditions in Peru and having arranged for what became more than a year's visit in the home of the Dominicans Portillo busied himself with the paramount task of organizing the work of his province. General instructions given to him by Borgia in March, 1567, were grouped under seven larger headings.[40] First, the fathers were to restrict their foundations to a few localities and were not to undertake more tasks than they could continue. Second, the provincial was to establish and reside in a main house, and carefully select superiors to govern the other residences. Third, the fathers were to concentrate upon instructing natives in the cities who had already been baptized and had received little practical training in religion. Fourth, those who entered areas not completely under Spanish control could reside in some protected town or fort. Fifth, before working among the pagan Indians the fathers were to study the language and acquire a knowledge of the native temperament and rites, then try to win over the tribal leaders. Sixth, the Jesuits were to avoid all undue danger and not risk their lives. Here he approved the desire on the part of some to win a martyr's crown, but he noted that men were needed and that they could serve God as well, possibly better, and certainly longer, by living for the Faith rather than by dying for it. The seventh instruction ordered written reports from the provincial and superiors, which were to include descriptions of the land, climate, people, and progress, and thus afford an opportunity to judge the needs and activities of the remote provinces of the Society.

These measures pertained as can be seen to the instruction and conversion of the Indians, but Portillo had first to establish educational foundations, since the very word province in the Jesuit scheme implied a central college for the training and education of younger members. No funds were budgeted for the project nor was there any endowment at Rome or in Spain available or even thought of for its inauguration. The king's coffers furnished transportation and thereafter considered that the Jesuits should finance themselves by begging. With what was given as free-will offerings Portillo was to build the physical outlines of a province—colleges, residences, and missions. No remuneration could be demanded for the services of his band.

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[39] John Tate Lanning, *Academic Culture in the Spanish Colonies*, New York, 1940, 19. There is, of course, a long bibliography on this University, but see especially, David Rubio, *La Universidad de San Marcos de Lima durante la Colonización Española*, Madrid, 1933, 21, 43–44. Regarding the educational training and aims of the Jesuits reference must be made to Jerome V. Jacobsen, *Educational Foundations of the Jesuits in Sixteenth Century New Spain*, Berkeley, 1938, Chapters I and II.

[40] For these instructions see *MHSI*, *Epistolae Borgia*, IV, 419–421, and Felix Zubillaga, "Métodos Misionales de la Primera Instrucción de San Francisco de Borja para la América Española (1567)," in *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*, Rome, XII (1943), 58–88.

Portillo had first to find a house to rent and then find the rent. He had to show the officials and people that an investment in the services of the Jesuits would be worthwhile. Therefore he did much preaching and distributed his men in needy areas of labor. Miguel de Fuentes besides spiritual ministrations organized a class in Latin grammar for the creoles; López visited the sick and dying, and began instructing Negro slaves. Bracamonte was named rector. The brothers taught catechism to the children. All began to learn the Indian language and set about organizing religious confraternities.

The popular response was good and so was that of the high official, García de Castro. He wrote to Philip II that if His Catholic Majesty wished Peru to be in peace and quiet he had better send more Jesuits.[41] The people contributed so well that by June Portillo had a lot and a residence and the beginning of a fund for a college and church.[42] Backed by Castro and Archbishop Loaysa, the oldest oider of the Audiencia, Doctor Cuenca, proved an energetic chairman of the drive for funds. He got contributions of money, of building materials, of furniture, and of slave labor for the work. Citizens who could not afford larger gifts gave food, table articles, and chapel supplies. The house was not large but it satisfied the needs of the fathers. Its patio was surrounded by a high wall, at least for a brief time. The chapel was too small to accomodate the men who wished to attend services and the women were forbidden to enter the house, consequently Portillo moved the altar outdoors under the portico, erected a pulpit, and allowed the congregation into the patio. When this proved too small a space he had the wall opposite the altar taken down. This temporary chapel was used for six years while the large church was being built.

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[41] Astrain, IV, 309–310; Oliva, 173–174.

[42] Mateos, *Historia General*, I, 24–28, for the description in this paragraph; Oliva, 161–164, uses the same source.

The sermons, the retreats, the administrations of the sacraments, the instructions, the organization of pious confraternities, the services in this chapel had the effect of reforming the customs of Lima and bringing about a notable spiritual revival.

Portillo's voice from the pulpit became known throughout the city as it won many converts to a better life and brought a number of men to the doors of the residence asking for admission to the Society. The problem of manpower began to resolve itself a month after the Jesuits arrived, when Portillo accepted the first applicant. Pedro Messia, lawyer and fiscal of the Royal Audiencia of Lima, was accepted as a novice on May 2, 1568. Father Fuentes was appointed director of novices, and before the end of that year thirty were admitted to the preliminary training.[43] These men had been engaged in various professions. Francisco López de Haro, secretary to acting-Governor Castro, the author Juan Guitérrez, the *mayorazgo* Martín Pizarro, the first creole to join the Company in Peru, three soldiers, two carpenters, were put through the severe training course along with the former dean of the cathedral, Juan Toscano, and the second canon of Cuzco, Cristóbal Sánchez, who was in Lima representing the Bishop of Cuzco when he first came in contact with the Jesuits and promptly decided to become one.

With this influx obviously an educational program would have to be begun. The Jesuit system of education called for courses in the classics and the basis of this was the study of Latin. A Latin class of forty boys had been inaugurated by Father Fuentes at the very outset, chiefly at the request of the citizens who wished both to educate their sons and keep them out of mischief for which there seemed to be plenty of opportunity.[44] Since the number of students increased and since they were of varying ages and talents, Fuentes had to divide them into different groups. These classes and those held for the Jesuit students, or seminarians, kept Fuentes busy.

Constructing the college building which was to be the Colegio Máximo, the central college of the Jesuits in the viceroyalty, was begun shortly after the residence had been built. The site, where long years afterwards in republican times the Penetenciario de San Pablo was erected, was selected and was to be paid for by the cabildo and audiencia.[45] Castro described the location as "... the square that borders on the *capitania* of Diego de Asuero, from the point where the houses of Gaspar Báez are to the houses of Diego Porras, and on the other side as far as the houses of Adrian Merino."[46] For this Castro granted 2,200 pesos from the royal hacienda in June, 1568, and by the same time urged by Castro and Archbishop Loaysa and Doctor Cuenca the contributions from individuals amounted to 12,718 pesos.[47] The *colegio* was called San Pedro y San Pablo.

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[43] Mateos, *Historia General*, I, 39–54; Oliva, 180 ff.; Astrain, II, 314. The first source gives general biographical data about the men named here. Not all of the thirty persevered; the majority became lay brother members.

[44] Mateos, *Historia General*, I, 69; Astrain, II, 310–311.

[45] Saldamando, *ut cit.*, note 19 above, I, 448.

As the years passed the smaller individual donations continued to support the college staff, the pastors of the adjacent church, and the young Jesuits in the novitiate or in their studies. More notable patrons appeared, especially Don Martínez Renifo and his wife, who gave an hacienda in the valley of Chancay, a house, and another hacienda in the valley of Ate, October 14, 1581. The rentals and garden products from these were of great aid. Still, more income was needed in 1582, but when the Jesuits asked the royal officials for 1,000 pesos annually, they received only 200 for the occasion. The crown after all could claim little credit for the establishment of education, since the colonials supported the institutions and the Jesuits contributed their services.

Portillo's workers and students increased gradually.[48] When Don Francisco de Toledo was appointed Viceroy, November 26, 1568, he requested Borgia to allot more men to Peru, in view of the reports of the officials there about their good work. Borgia had likewise received requests from the colonial officers, and so too had Phillip II. The latter asked for twenty. Borgia could send only ten at the time, but when Toledo sailed from Sanlúcar on March 19, 1569, he had with him an even dozen. "This second expedition paid its tribute to the temple of the tropics, for Father Juan García died in Panamá," during a layover of two months. Eleven Jesuits reached Lima November 8. The third group from Spain did not arrive at Callao until April 27, 1572. It consisted of two unordained Jesuits who later became prominent, and the famed Father José de Acosta. The fourth contingent of thirteen arrived May 31, 1575, with the *Visitador,* Father Plaza. Two had died on the way, one at sea, and one in Panamá.

With the arrival of the group of Jesuits in November, 1569, Portillo felt safe in directing the next steps in the progress of his cultural and missionary center.[49] Father Fuentes had been the "faculty" of the Latin school. Now Juan Gómez, still to be ordained, became the instructor in the higher Latin courses and Father Antonio Martínez began to lecture in logic and philosophy. Thus, step by step, the process of growth continued as courses in religion, poetry, rhetoric, and metaphysics completed the arts college curriculum typical of European education of the century. When Acosta arrived he introduced the first lectures in theology in 1572 and with it moral theology, though Portillo had been conducting conferences in the latter. While these were instituted chiefly for the Jesuit students, lay students interested in law might attend the lectures on canon law. The aspect of the student body of the Colegio Máximo in these early days was unique, for around the building and in the patio there were little boys of grade school age, older boys of high school age, young men, young Jesuits, and mature men from various walks of life pursuing higher studies.

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[46] Pastells, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la Provincia del Paraguay,* I, 4.

[47] Ruben Vargas Ugarte, *Manuscritos Peruanas en las Bibliotécas del Extranjero,* Lima, 1935, II, 164–165. See also on these donations E. Torres Saldamando, "Un Filantropo," *Revista Historico,* III (1908), 308.

[48] Mateos, *Historia General,* I, Chapters X and XI, 80–86 of text and introduction 14–15; here Mateos in his notes gives the names of the newcomers, and corrects the previous errors.

Now that the parochial duties were organized for the help of the citizens and the educational program was well launched, the missionary work was pushed.[50] Father Bracamonte had begun to learn the Indian languages on his arrival and by the end of 1569 he was directing catechists in the instruction of approximately 3,000 Indian children in the vicinity of Lima. In the first months of 1570 the Jesuits assumed care and management of an Indian center on the outskirts of Lima called Santiago del Cercado, or, more commonly, El Cercado, where by a decree of Castro two fathers and a brother were sent to live. Here a school was established for the children, religion was taught the grown-ups, and the old and infirm received care. Spaniards and creoles were forbidden to enter this *barrio.* The area was originally an *encomienda* surrounded by a wall, but was purchased by Castro for 15,326 pesos. The Jesuits saw to the erection of a chapel, a residence for themselves, homes for the natives, and a hospital.

At the insistence of the viceroy and archbishop the area of missionary activity was greatly extended. Outside Lima a strip of land along the slope of the Andes was inhabited by Huarochirí Indians who were scattered in seventy-seven little villages. The viceroy ordered these to be organized into one mission district of eight villages. Steps to effect this were taken early in 1570 when Bracamonte was sent as the superior. By November he with four fathers, two brothers, and two catechists were instructing the natives in the area, named Huarochirí, and endeavoring to win them into the reductions. This work continued until 1572 when trouble arose between the Jesuits on the one side and the viceroy and archbishop on the other, which caused the padres to withdraw from the field.

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[49] *Ibid.,* I, Ch. VIII, 66–70, and Ch. XII, 98–102; these with the letters of appointments in *MHSI, Epistolae Borgia,* IV, 610, 620, 631, 641, are the sources for this paragraph; on Toledo see Arthur F. Zimmerman, *Francisco de Toledo, Fifth Viceroy of Peru, 1569–1581,* Caldwell, Idaho, 1938, 54–60.

[50] Mateos, *Historia General,* I, Ch. XIII, 103–109, (which was used by Astrain, II, 310, and others).

The Center at Cuzco

"Having put in order the affairs of the college in Lima and having reaped admirable fruits of his preaching and other means which he adopted for the good of that city, and aided by the arrival of the first helpers from Europe in 1569, within a short time Father Gerónimo de Portillo betook himself to Cuzco, 130 leagues from Lima, ... and began the college which the Company has there."[51] The occasion for the trip of Portillo to the old Inca capital with its dense Indian population was the inspection tour of Viceroy Toledo.

Toledo had arrived from Spain with instructions to organize the viceroyalty more efficiently. To do this he decided to visit the area, study its needs, and remedy evils.[52] The project necessitated his absence from Lima for five years on journeys totaling over 5,000 miles. The personnel of the group assisting him included capable military leaders, political advisors, scholars, and clerics. Portillo and three companions traveled with the expedition which departed from Lima on October 22, 1570. Following the royal road they passed through the Guarochirí district and arrived at Ayacucho December 15. Here the entourage remained while the Jesuits continued on to Cuzco, where they arrived in early January, 1571. Toledo reached there in mid-February.

Portillo, Father Luis López, and Brothers González and Ruiz were given an enthusiastic formal reception by the cabildo, headed by Captain Don Juan Ramón, and many of the important people. Since the episcopal see was vacant at the time the dean of the cathedral welcomed the newcomers.[53] The hospital offered them rooms. In the high, mountainous capital of the Incas the Jesuits immediately went about exercising their customary ministeries. Portillo apparently preached as one inspired, and the officials begged him to take the cathedral pulpit on January 15, the great feast day of the city. The entire city, we are told, was present on the occasion. His success is indicated by the demands of the civic leaders that the Company establish itself in Cuzco.

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[51] *Ibid.*, I, 120, where the anonymous author of 1600 has only one paragraph as his Ch. XVI on the Cuzco foundation. In Vol. II, however, the first fourteen chapters are devoted to Cuzco and its vicinity.

[52] Zimmerman, *Francisco de Toledo*, 90–92; Roberto Levillier, *Don Francisco de Toledo, supremo organizador del Peru, su vida, su obra, 1515–1582*, Madrid, 1935, 210; also, *Colección de Documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista, y colonización de la posesiones españolas de América y Oceania*, Madrid, 1864–1884, VII, 247, (hereafter *Documentos Ined.*).

As he visited the environs Portillo became more and more taken with the prospects. He beheld in the great numbers of Indians a great field for his workers and decided to make arrangements for a permanent residence. A messenger was sent to Toledo, who was still in Ayacucho, to procure the necessary license. The viceroy had already been so petitioned by the cabildo. He delivered his reply in person on his arrival in Cuzco. Not only did he grant the permission but he also assigned a *repartimiento* grant of 12,500 pesos toward the foundation.[54]

It is clear from what followed that Portillo had in his mind a center at Cuzco for the training of missionaries to the Indians and even a center for educating Indians, just as he had in mind an Indian school at far-off Havana for the training of Florida Indians. For this Indian cultural center he chose the exact site whereon the palace of the Inca Huanya Capac had once stood. On this site there was now the residence formerly owned by Hernando Pizarro, *conquistador.*[55] It was located on one side of the main plaza beside the cathedral. Though the old building needed repairs Portillo fancied it as a residence for the coming spiritual conquest. He negotiated the purchase with the cabildo for the 12,500 pesos. The city officials, in accord with the instructions of the viceroy, contributed toward the alterations and toward the building of a church, which required years for completion. The padres became occupants of the residence after three months with Father López as temporary superior.

From their entrance into the city the Jesuits and their project came under the motherly care of the most important Spanish lady of the land, Theresa Ordóñez, wife of Don Diego de Silva Guzmán, the most important encomendero. The señora sent them all of their food supplies for six years. She was so famous throughout the land for her goodness and charity that, as the old chronicler says, "it would take a very large history to recount the deeds of this señora."[56] She and Don Diego at the outset heartened Portillo with a donation of 20,000 pesos for the college foundation and in 1572 added 10,000 to their gift. They are enshrined in the memory of the Jesuits of Peru as the "Founders of the College of Cuzco."

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[53] Vargas Ugarte, *Los Jesuitas del Peru,* 8–9. Mateos, *Historia General,* II, 5–13, gives many details of Portillo's welcome, his sermons, and the beginnings of many pious practices.

[54] Vargas Ugarte, *Los Jesuitas del Peru,* 9.

[55] *Ibid.* Also see Torres Saldamando, *Revista Historica de Lima,* I, 453–454.

After establishing the residence Portillo, probably in the middle of 1571, returned to Lima, and from there sent Bracamonte to Cuzco as rector. By 1573 there were fourteen Jesuits residing in the house, seven of whom were novices preparing themselves in Indian languages and customs, hence we conclude that Portillo had sent them up into the mountain city from Lima according to his well laid plan of 1570. Among the priests and brothers sent were the creole Blas Valera and the mestizo Bartolomé de Santiago, who, like Ruiz, were familiar with the Quechua and Aymará languages. More renowned than these for his many years of missionary work was the Andalucian, Father Alonso de Barzana, who arrived from the Lima missions in 1572.[57]

These missionaries cared for the Indians of the city and also established three missions in the valleys. Scholastic activities, that is the formal beginnings of Latin, were probably going on during these early years, but it was not until Portillo began his rectorship in 1576 that the Colegio de San Bernardo, began its long educational program. Later, Portillo during his incumbency as rector established, with the aid of generous donations, two chairs in the humanities, and three in dogmatic and moral theology.[58] This implies that sometime before 1576 courses in Latin, poetry, rhetoric, and logic were being given. While Indians were in attendance from the beginning Portillo's ultimate goal of a college for *caciques* was not reached until 1621 when the Colegio de San Francisco Borgia was officially founded. Two years later, San Bernardo became the Universidad de San Ignacio de Loyola.[59]

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[56] Mateos, *Historia General,* II, 15.

[57] *Ibid.,* I, 87–97 of text, and II, 35–46. Barzana looms as probably the greatest of the Jesuit missionaries in Peru during the sixteenth century; see Mateos' notes for his letters and bibliography.

[58] *Ibid.,* II, Ch. IV, 14–16.

[59] Domingo Angulo, "Documentos sobre los Antiguos Colegios de Caciques Fundaciones, Provisiones, Constitutiones," *Revista del Archivo Nacional del Peru,* I (1920), 355–358; Torres Saldamando, *Los Antiguos Jesuitas del Peru,* 169.

Provincial Cares

Owing to a misunderstanding of the Jesuit constitutions on the part of both Toledo and Archbishop Loaysa, trouble was awaiting Portillo when he returned to Lima, and this was strung out over a long period of time because of the distance between the provincial and the viceroy and the distance to Madrid and Rome. Toledo and Loaysa were friendly to the Jesuits before, during, and after the points in dispute were settled, consequently the argument must be classified as typical of all such arising in formative periods when jurisdictions are unclarified and strong men are ruling.[60]

Toledo wished to employ the Jesuits in all types of religious and educational work, but according to their rules the fathers were not to become parish priests. Toledo had sent an official out to the Guarochirí Indians, who was to bring the inhabitants of seventy-seven mountainside villages into eight reductions. The task had been going on a month when the Jesuits led by Bracamonte arrived. The viceroy wanted these seven reductions to be parishes, not missions. The archbishop had agreed to this. If they were designated as parishes, they would be under the jurisdiction of the archbishop, and the Indian parishioners would be subject to the collection of a tithe. Moreover, the viceroy could nominate the curés. Portillo thereupon withdrew his men for the time, since he had no authority to follow any such procedure. So Toledo wrote to the king, March 1, 1572, from Cuzco, telling him that the Jesuits were in doubt about the procedure (which they were not), that they could not take missions, and asking the king to arrange the Jesuit statutes so that they could go among the Indians.[61] It was more than two years before the viceroy began to catch the idea, and it was not until 1581 that he fully comprehended that he did not have complete say over the distribution and work of Jesuits. To present the difficulties at Rome and Madrid Bracamonte was sent by Portillo in 1572, but in the night of September 30–October 1 Borgia died. Owing to the election of a new general, Father Everard Mercurian, it was not until the last day of May, 1575, that Bracamonte returned with the Visitor Father Plaza and a dozen new Jesuits.

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[60] Zimmerman, *Francisco de Toledo*, 237, finds it rather difficult to understand the quarrel between Acosta and Toledo in 1578, and hence overlooks the strongheadedness of the various Jesuit superiors and of Toledo. The following paragraph presents the case according to Astrain, II, 313–314.

[61] Astrain, II, 313, gives the letter. It is clear that Toledo had an exaggerated idea of his powers under the *patronato real.* On occasion he ordered a college closed, ordered one opened, ordered the Jesuits to take charge of a seminary, etc., indicating that he supposed they were at his disposal; worse, he wished them to accompany him on his visitation of the viceroyalty as inspectors, which they refused to do because they considered the inspection a political affair. *Ibid.*, 313–314.

Meanwhile, the task of making a survey of the viceroyalty for an estimate of the prospect of colleges and missions had to be undertaken. For this the man who became the best known Jesuit of Peru, José de Acosta, was chosen.[62] Acosta, leaving the chair of theology in the college of Lima in the middle of 1573, inspected the college in Cuzco in the name of the provincial, and then proceeded south down the mountains to Arequipa, then up to La Paz and Potosí, and on to Chuquisaca, where he met Toledo. How long he remained with the viceroy is not clear, but he was called back to Lima by Portillo because of some difficulty about the Inquisition there, and arrived in the City of the Kings in October, 1574. Apparently, Acosta was Portillo's first assistant. He made a fine impression in each of the cities visited, for he was a capable speaker. He and the two Jesuits accompanying him conducted missions for the people in each city. The services were attended by large congregations. The citizens and cabildos in each place petitioned for the Jesuits and promised to raise the funds for foundations.

With Acosta's report in hand Portillo was encouraged, but as his men were already well occupied he could not see his way clear to accepting the offers. Nevertheless, for the lenten seasons each year he sent Jesuits to the various cities to preach, conduct services, and hear confessions. Especially in the mining area around Potosí was the spiritual help needed for the rough mining society, and around La Paz for the Indians.

Portillo felt that his first duty was toward La Paz, the center of a dense Aymará population, the scene of the battle between Governor Pedro de la Gasca and the rebel Gonzalo Pizarro.[63] The cause of his interest was Señor Juan de Rivas. This enterprising and very christian caballero arrived in Lima in 1568 and asked Portillo for Jesuits to teach the boys of his province and to evangelize the Indians. He offered a lump sum of 3,000 pesos for a residence and an annual stipend in pieces of eight for its support. Portillo could only promise to accept when men were available. In 1572 he sent two for the lenten season and in 1574 Acosta was there for the same period. Acosta reported back very favorably on the prospects. Rivas then went to Lima in 1575 and held Portilla to his promise when he found that more Jesuits had arrived from Spain. Plaza accepted the offer, and Portillo sent Father Juan de Zúñiga and Brother Gonzalo Ruiz to La Paz, where they were warmly welcomed by the citizens and cared for in the home of Rivas. Soon Brother Juan de Casasola joined them. The three immediately went to their many duties with remarkable vigor, to the happiness of their sponsor.

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[62] Mateos, *Historia General,* I, Introduction, 15, give Acosta's itinerary, and corrects the statements in Zimmerman, 89, to the effect that Acosta was summoned by Toledo and that he was with Toledo during his visitation of the other cities. Acosta obviously made the annual provincial visitation in the place of Portillo and was back in Lima in a year's time. Cf. also, Astrain, III, 158, for Portillo's annual letter of Feb. 9, 1575.

[63] The account followed for the following survey of the Jesuits in La Paz is like that in the other authors from the anonymous *Historia General,* II, 205–249 of the text (253–299 of the volume).

Unfortunately, Zúñiga was in trouble after six months.[64] In and around La Paz there remained much of the earlier spirit of the individualistic conquerors and the Indians were still under oppression at the hands of former soldiers and upstart caballeros. These haughty ones generally supported ten or twelve "soldiers" on their estates, with whom they roamed the town in grandee fashion. The viceroy, fearing an insurrection, ordered a stop to their pretensions and their oppressions. Apparently, trials were held and Zúñiga saw that there was danger to the lives of some who were accused unjustly. Called in as a witness before the *oidor* after due investigation of charges, he expressed his opinion. The official in his report to the viceroy at Charcas distorted the testimony so that Toledo judged that Zúñiga was one with those accused of treason. In his fury he ordered an *oidor* of the Audiencia of Charcas to go to La Paz and arrest the padre. To avoid scandal Zúñiga went to Cuzco. The *oidor* arrived at La Paz and was happy to find he had no padre to arrest. His investigation brought forth the truth. When the viceroy heard it his anger cooled and Zúñiga was exonerated. The padre did not, however, return to La Paz, but became prominent in other mission fields.

Not all of the problems of his Province of Peru had been solved by Portillo when the Visitador Plaza arrived in Lima on May 31, 1575. Plaza, well experienced in Jesuit administration in Europe, came with wider powers than were usually given to an inspector, chiefly because of the difficulties of communication with Rome.[65] He was delegated by the General, among other things, to make appointments of superiors. It is a tribute to his carefulness and to his esteem for Portillo that he made no change for seven months, even though Portillo had been in office for an unusually long period of eight years. On January 1, 1576, the change was made and Portillo turned over his cares to Father José de Acosta.

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[64] *Ibid.*, 215–216, text.
[65] Astrain, III, 160–161.

New Fields

Relieved of one position Portillo now found himself the chief lieutenant of Acosta. There was no letup in his activity. First the new provincial summoned the fathers for a congregation. This met in Lima from January 16 to 27, 1576, and finished its work in Cuzco October 8 to 16, with Portillo in attendance at both sessions. While its purpose was to elect two representatives to carry resolutions and and petitions to Rome, this provincial congregation distinguished itself as a conference on methods for missionary work among the Indians. Its discussions and decisions, the fruit of the combined experience of the fathers, were organized by Acosta and written in book form. This was sent in early 1577 to the General as a work entitled *De Procuranda Indiorum Salute*, for which Acosta became renowned.[66]

Precisely when Portillo left Lima for Cuzco is not certain, but it was probably May 16, 1576, the date on which Plaza started his journey up into the mountains.[67] The distance, nearly 400 miles, was covered in twenty-six days, though the Jesuits do not say if they went by cart or mounted. Their second meeting was scheduled to take place in August, but Acosta was delayed until October. The assembled fathers, on the recommendation of Portillo, voted to establish permanent residences among the numerous Indians at La Paz, Potosí, and Chuquisaca. Very shortly after this time Portillo was named rector of the house to be opened in Potosí.

The distance by air from Cuzco to Potosí is 650 miles, and that by road somewhat greater. The road southeast through the mountain ranges at an altitude of 10,000 to 12,000 feet was traversed by many covered-wagons, carts, horsemen, and footsore pedestrians on their way to and from the fabulous mining area. It led along the western shore of Lake Titicaca to its mid-point where the town of Juli was situated. Then it wound south past the ancient Tiahuánaco of the Incas. Here the road branched, one fork leading east to La Paz, one west down the mountains to Arequipa, and the high road continuing on to Chuquisaca and Potosí. Such was the route of Portillo and two companions who left Cuzco at the end of 1576 and were in Potosí at the very beginning of 1577. Plaza followed a little later and required twenty-four days for the trip.[68]

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[66] *Ibid.*, III, 162–166, has a long summary of the work; see also Mateos, *Historia General*, I, Introduction, 17.

[67] Plaza wrote a log of his travel in Peru, which is published in Astrain, III, 715–717; it supplies many exact dates, which are almost totally lacking in the work of the anonymous historian of 1600.

Because it was the heart of the fabulous mining area, Potosí was considered a very important city. It housed usually more than 3,000 Spaniards and over 50,000 Indians.[69] The Jesuits hoped to evangelize these and considered that the results would be far-reaching, since the natives were gathered from many parts of the kingdom. One may well surmise that the mining society in the rough boom town also needed help toward religious practices. Viceroy Toledo was in a constant dither for fear there might be an insurrection that would damage the royal revenues. Yet under the rough exteriors there were good hearts. The earlier Jesuits following Acosta on mission tours had found their words well received. That many wanted the Jesuits to establish in Potosí is clear from their willingness to support the fathers. They collected 25,000 pesos with which they bought a square in the best part of the city for 14,000 pesos and set aside the other 11,000 for a chapel.[70] This was to be the site of the future large church and college which the Jesuits built. Then they promised to assign the rentals of stores amounting to over 3,000 pesos annually for the support of the place, and promised more for the erection of the college. This offer was legally accepted by Portillo on January 6, 1577.[71]

The work of Portillo during 1577 and until September, 1578, was one of organization and building while carrying on his preaching, instructing, ministrations, and other religious duties among the Spaniards and natives. He had brought with him Father Francisco Medina and Brother Diego Martínez Calderón. When he left Potosí seven Jesuits were in residence. Plaza lived in the residence from February 17 to September 4, 1577, and undoubtedly helped in the work. The house on its completion could accommodate twelve or more, and the chapel was soon too small for the congregations. Visiting and instructing the Indian groups occupied much of the time.

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[68] *Ibid.*, III, 715.

[69] *Ibid.*, III, 170; in these pages Astrain published parts of the memorial of Plaza, who gives these figures. Zimmerman, 175 states that in 1572 the population of Potosí was about 120,000, according to Toledo's census.

[70] Mateos, *Historia General*, II, 114 text.

[71] Astrain III, 714, Plaza's report for this and the following paragraph.

When Plaza reached the College of Cuzco at the end of September, 1577, he sent its rector to Juli to organize the missionary work there. Plaza remained for one year as the rector of the College.[72] In August, 1578, he was anxious to complete his task as visitor. He considered that Portillo had arranged the affairs at Potosí well enough and therefore, on consultation with the provincial, had Portillo named rector at Cuzco. Apparently, Portillo took office in early October, 1578, in the presence of Plaza and Acosta.

Just about this time the Viceroy Toledo was issuing orders for the enforcement of one of his numerous regulations of 1575. He commanded the *corregidor* of Potosí, who, by coincidence, bore the name of Martín García de Loyola, to close the school and church of the sons of Loyola, because they had not been licenced.[73] Again, it was the old patronage quarrel. The Jesuits took the case to the Council of the Indies, and the king finally on January 21 and February 22, 1580, ordered Toledo to let the fathers return to Potosí. This incident along with many preceding, particularly Toledo's order to stop their academic work in Lima, ultimately forced Philip II to admit the privileges of the Jesuits or see them drop their academic and missionary work in his domains. When the king's orders reached Peru, Toledo was out of office and Don Martín Enríquez, Viceroy of New Spain, had been transferred to Peru.

Portillo took up his work at Cuzco with his customary vigor. He found that the great benefactor of his early days in Cuzco, Don Diego de Silva Guzmán, had passed away. The Don's wife, Teresa Ordóñez, had not ceased her gifts and aid. Consequently, Portillo drew up papers naming the pair the official founders of the College of Cuzco, on October 15, 1578.[74] This act entitled them to burial in the crypt of the church and it obligated all of the Jesuits to offer suffrages in masses and prayers on their death. Annually there would be memorial services attended by the student body for these altruistic citizens who had done so much to bring education to Cuzco.

At the same time, since both the provincial and the visitor were in the house, Portillo saw to the establishment of five chairs for professors in philosophy and theology, as has already been mentioned. Additions had to be made to the building and quarters had to be found for students. The original plan to make this a large center for studies of Indian languages and customs was adhered to and implemented by opening the seminary for Indians.

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[72] *Ibid.*, III, 170, 715, 716.

[73] Zimmerman, 237, and Astrain, III, 172–176, for material in this dispute. For the ordinances of Toledo see Roberto Levillier, *Ordenanzas de Don Francisco de Toledo*, Madrid, 1929.

[74] Mateos, *Historia General,* II, 15 text.

Besides directing the academic and scholastic studies of the lay students and the young Jesuits, Portillo set about the building of the large church, for which he enlisted the services of a noted Jesuit architect and a Jesuit muralist. He had much trouble with the church, too much to record.[75] There was difficulty about getting supplies and trouble with the supplies, especially the cement and foundations. It is no wonder that the building process went on for so many years, but when it was completed Portillo could view a masterpiece gracing the main square of the city.

One of the rules of his office as rector called for care and attention to the health and recreation of his community. He sought a site outside of Cuzco where the climate was cold enough to cause many aches and pains among the Jesuits. He wanted a place where the ill could convalesce and the students have days of recreation.[76] He found one in the valley of Yucay, half a day's journey from the city. There in the warm, green valley, well cultivated and productive of maize, he purchased from the Indians and encomenderos a tract of land suitable for his villa. He had a house constructed where the vista was pleasing, and a chapel beside it. With his own hands he planted a garden and a grove of fruit trees, then had his workmen plant enough maize to supply the college needs. Soon there was a truck garden producing vegetables for the college. This villa in the valley of Yucay became outstanding in the memories of the succeeding generations of Jesuits for the recreations it afforded.

One day while Portillo was at Yucay busy with the building, a messenger arrived from Cuzco to tell him that Señora Teresa Ordóñez was critically ill. He started with all possible haste for Cuzco, but on the road was met by a second messenger who announced that the *fundadora* was dead. Needless to say, Portillo conducted her solemn obsequies.

Portillo continued his arduous and effective activities as rector at Cuzco until 1587 when he returned to the Colegio Máximo de San Pedro y San Pablo in Lima. His work as a builder was now finished. The foundation on which he based the Province of Peru were well laid. Apparently, the cold and the higher altitudes had not vitally affected his health nor necessitated the change. He had held his office twice as long as was the custom in the Jesuit colleges. Once he was in the lower altitude he continued to serve as preacher, teacher, and advisor.[77] He preached in the streets and in the large Jesuit church, and, though his sermons were never flowery, their stirring simplicity earned for him the title of the "Trumpet of God." He was constantly approached for advice not only by these encharged with the administrative offices of the Jesuits but by the substantial men of the city, who recognized his executive ability.

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[75] *Ibid.*, II, 17 ff., text, has a full account of this, without dates. Mateos publishes a picture of the large church erected after the earthquake of 1650 made Portillo's church unsafe; see, Vargas Ugarte, *Jesuitas del Peru*, 182.

[76] Mateos, *Historia General*, II, 16, is the basis for this and the following paragraph.

In appearance he was extraordinarily venerable, according to the writer of his obituary. People approached him in some awe, but quickly found him suave, humane, magnanimous, and extremely even-tempered no matter what the bad or good news happened to be. He was decisive in his opinions and unshakable almost to stubbornness when there was question of law or rule or authority. There is no record of his having personal grudges nor of having aroused personal animosity to himself, since he treated all equally.

At the end of his mortal career, when the "Trumpet of God" could no longer deliver the forceful words that characterized him, Portillo preached a silent sermon of patience during his suffering from gout or arthritis. What his mortal illness was is unstated, but he knew of its arrival some days before he passed away on February 3, 1592, in the college of Lima.[78] The concourse including all of the civil and ecclesiastical officials overflowed the church on the day of his burial rites, paying a final tribute to an outstanding leader.

BEATRICE BLUM ROEMER

Loyola University

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[77] *Ibid.*, II, 230–235, text, has the obituary of Portillo, which is concerned chiefly with his virtues.

[78] *Ibid.*, 234–235, where the year of his death is given as 1590; this is corrected by Vargas Ugarte, *Jesuitas del Peru*, 221.

Book Reviews

The Life of James Roosevelt Bayley, First Bishop of Newark and Eighth Archbishop of Baltimore, 1814–1877. By Sister M. Hildegarde Yeager, C.S.C. Vol. XXXVI, Studies in American Church History of the Catholic University of America, Catholic University of America Press, 1947. Pp. xi, 512.

Within the foregoing bulky doctoral dissertation the reader will find a biographical narrative of Archbishop Bayley, convert, scion of the Roosevelt clan, and erstwhile Episcopal rector. For the story of his training, career, and work the volume utilizes chiefly first-rate archival sources.

Throughout the book Sister Hildegarde stresses backgrounds which are shorn pretty much of any comparative contrasts. After college Bayley studied theology privately with the guidance of a clergyman who possessed a library well filled with patristic writings and books on medieval history. Prior to his ordination into the Episcopal ministry his education was centered in Connecticut, a stronghold of Anglo-Catholicism. The foregoing precedents, combined with a trip to Italy, partially explain Bayley's decision to become a Catholic, a step he took at Rome in 1842.

After a brief stay in the seminary of St. Sulpice, Paris, where he was impressed by the review of the life of Christ in the liturgical calendar, he studied for a short space at St. John's College (Fordham), and then was ordained to the priesthood on March 2, 1844.

Folllowing an abbreviated career on the faculty of St. John's, where his administrative talent came into notice, he served as secretary for seven years to Archbishop Hughes of New York. It was in this capacity that his executive ability matured and became the outstanding characteristic of his career in the episcopacy, particularly as Bishop of Newark, 1853-1872.

Archbishop Bayley's fame rests on his contribution to the diocese of Newark which was well organized by him. Though pioneering is usually associated with places in the United States farther west, the Bishop had to start from scratch in New Jersey. He made notable efforts to provide churches, priests, and schools for an ever growing diocese. In the archdiocese of Baltimore, besides the handicaps of brevity and ill health, his administration had the drawbacks related to mere routine, and so it failed to add much to his accomplishments.

Throughout a career unmarked by heroic deeds or extraordinary enterprise Archbishop Bayley was notable for his friendships, dedication to duty, interest in books, zeal for Catholic schools and homes, for his promotion of the Temperance movement, furtherance of Catholic welfare work, and for an admirable affection and support of the Holy See. Noteworthy too was his interest in history and historical undertakings. While the productions of his pen may be rated as minor, he betrayed a curiosity and intelligence which were ahead of his day. This is especially obvious in his efforts to encourage and assist other writers.

In this biography the author has succeeded in fixing the personality and character of Archbishop Bayley. Perhaps these would have been made clearer by a topical arrangement of his loyalties and friendships, and of his cultural inspiration, sources and interests.

Typical of dissertations, quotations play a major role in the volume. Elaboration of footnotes is another academic trade-mark. While historical backgrounds are admirably done, the hero is lost sight of in some cases. This disappearance seems to be inevitable when he is not a major actor or contributor in his times.

The volume has three excellent photographic studies of Archbishop Bayley. Besides, it is also equipped with an extensive bibliography and an index.

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* * * *

Histoire de l'église en Belgique. By E. De Moreau. Vol. I: *La formation de la Belgique chrétienne* (*300–950*). Pp. xx+388. 2nd Edition, 1945. Vol. II: *La formation de l'église médiévale* (*950–1125*). Pp. 501. 2nd Edition, 1945. L'Edition Universelle, Brussels.

The Belgian universities have produced many distinguished historians since the revival of historical studies a century ago. Moreover, in the publications of the Bollandists and in the *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique,* Belgium has given the world perhaps the best publications on church history written by Catholics. Yet up to the present, the history of the Church in Belgium has not been treated in a manner worthy of the subject and of the high standard of ecclesiastical learning maintained in the country. In writing the history of the Church in the United States it is the vastness of the canvas which makes it difficult to produce an unified picture. In Belgium it is not the smallness of the country which causes difficulty, for after all Belgium is larger than Holland and has a glorious ecclesiastical past. Rather it is the fact that through the centuries parts of Belgium have belonged now to one of its two powerful neighbors, now to the other. The sees of the bishops who governed the faithful in Belgium were as often as not situated outside Belgium. The chequered pattern of national history rendered Church-life scarcely less diversified. Père de Moreau has undertaken to write the whole story from the origins to 1914. His work is in all parts based on a personal examination of the sources. The first two of a projected six volumes show that in the author vast erudition is coupled with a sane critical spirit and a sense of history.

The first volume begins with a chapter in which the author inquires into the causes of the tardy appearance of Christianity in Belgium. Christian communities existed a few score miles away in the Rhine valley in the last decade of the second century. Why are the earliest vestiges of Christianity in Belgium a century later? The reasons are clear: Belgium was thinly populated, there were few towns and no cities. The countryside was thickly wooded and the means of communication were few. In addition there was the threat of barbarian invasion with no military installations such as the Roman Empire maintained in the Rhine valley. At the end of the third century, however, there were Christians in Belgium and in the fourth, Tongres was the seat of a bishop. One of the incumbents played an important role in the Arian controversies.

The fifth century was a century of disaster for the Church in Belgium. The Franks moved in and wiped out the religion of Christ. In the sixth century evangelization was begun anew and in the seventh it was completed. St. Amand (+ c. 675) is the greatest of the missionaries who won Belgium for the Church and merits the title of its apostle. Although trained by, and in the tradition of, the Irish missionaries to the continent, he showed great devotion to the Roman bishop and, in this, reminds one of the Anglo-Saxon Boniface two generations later. This is but another proof that the opposition of the Celtic Church to Rome has been exaggerated. Under the Merovingians, Belgium became a country of monasteries whose monks succeeded in imparting the faith to the country people so effectively that they have retained it ever since. The Belgian monasteries grew wealthy and were despoiled by the Carolingian rulers, Charles Martel, Charlemagne, and their successors in such drastic wise that some historians have called it a secularization. Père de Moreau is inclined to agree against Hauck with this school of thought. Later on in the ninth century the monasteries and the entire Belgian Church suffered so severely at the hands of the Northmen that, for a time. it seemed that Christianity would be destroyed as it had been in the fifth century. But eventually the Vikings were mastered and the Church flourished again. The first volume also studies the origins of the parish and other ecclesiastical institutions as well as the beginnings of literary and artistic endeavor.

The second volume contains the story of the foundation of the medieval Church in Belgium. The struggle between the feudal lords and the bishops is portrayed according to the sources. The conflict over investitures, which was to result in the greater centralization of the Church, is treated at some length, as are the monastic reforms which heralded the new order. Such a large part of this volume is devoted to the history of art and letters that it may be styled a history of culture as well as of the Church. An interesting chapter on Christian life among the people is also included.

Each volume is well indexed and has a detailed table of contents which will render consultation easy. In addition many excellent illustrations of the sections on art adorn the volumes.

These volumes are the work of a master in the field of church history and will long remain authoritative. Church historians will find here all they need for understanding the development of the Christian Church in the small but dynamic buffer-state which has, and has long had, a political and cultural personality differing vastly from those of its powerful neighbors. It is to be hoped that the remaining volumes of the work will soon be available.

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Woodstock College

Notes and Comments

The United States Catholic Historical Society, whose headquarters are in New York, publishes a Monograph Series and *Historical Records and Studies.* There are at present twenty-two volumes in the Series, and recently the *Records* were augmented by the annual publication, bringing the number to Volume XXXVI. The table of contents of this reveals five articles, besides the customary record of the proceedings of the annual meeting and some notes and comments. The articles are an address by Very Rev. Thomas J. McMahon, the Editor of the Society's publications, on "Our American Cardinals"; "Growing Pains in the American Church: 1880 to 1908," by John J. Meng; "Catholic Beginnings in Yonkers," by Thomas C. Cornell, which was prepared in 1883; "How Many Catholics in Pre-Diocesan Brooklyn," and "Brooklyn's First Preparatory Seminary," by John K. Sharp. In the Necrology we find to our regret the obituary of Monsignor Peter Guilday, who died in Washington and was buried there on August 4, 1947.

* * * *

The use of old pictures and photographs as source materials for writing history is indicated by Hermine Munz Baumhofer in an article entitled "A New Tool for a New History," in the December 1947 number of *Minnesota History.* Photography thus becomes a new tool for the historian. The argument of the writer is briefly: scientists, laboratory technicians, industrialists, the law, the governmental agencies, business men, *et cetera* "consider photographs as prime evidence," hence, "why should the scholar hesitate to make use of such a valuable tool?" Of course, the tool is not new to historians. A good illustration of the use of the photograph, its value and interpretation, may be found in the December, 1947, *Maryland Historical Magazine.* In a short, sympathetic article, "Montebello, Home of General Samuel Smith," J. Gilman D. Paul tells what he sees in a fading photograph of what was reputed from 1799 to be the most beautiful home in Maryland. Many historical societies have gone to great lengths to preserve all pictorial materials whether photographic, graphic, or in oils. An instance of note in this respect is the American Antequarian Socety, which, in its *Proceedings* of the meeting of April 17, 1946, published a checklist of portraits in the Library of the Society as well as notes on one group of paintings and pastels.

MID-AMERICA

An Historical Review

VOLUME 30, NUMBER 3 JULY 1948

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VOLUME 30 NEW SERIES, VOLUME 19 NUMBER 3

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Published quarterly by Loyola University (The Institute of Jesuit History) at 50 cents a copy. Annual subscription, $2.00; in foreign countries, $2.50. Publication and editorial offices at Loyola University, 6525 Sheridan Road, Chicago, Illinois. All communications should be addressed to the Managing Editor. Entered as second class matter, August 7, 1929, at the post office at Chicago, Illinois, under the Act of March 3, 1879. Additional entry as second class matter at the post office at Effingham, Illinois. Printed in the United States.

MID-AMERICA
An Historical Review
JULY 1948
VOLUME 30 NEW SERIES, VOLUME 19 NUMBER 3

The Catholic Church and Social Problems in the World War I Era

The second decade of the present century is the most significant ten-year span in the history of Catholic social action in the United States. In that period the Catholic Church redefined, expanded, and coordinated its urban social policy. By enlarging the scope of its social mission, the Church in these years was able to cope more effectively with the religious problems of a now dominant urban society and to influence appreciably the direction of social policy during the economic crisis of the late twenties and the thirties.

Long before 1910, it is worth noting, Catholics in large numbers had worked in various ways to bring about reforms in the prevailing economic and social order. The general character of the Catholic population fostered interest in movements for social betterment. By the turn of the century, urban immigrants and their children made up fully five-sixths of the Church's swelling membership. As wage earners for the most part, they suffered poverty and general insecurity—the twin hazards of the urban masses in a predominantly *laissez-faire* epoch. In the hope of remedying matters, the Catholic rank and file had turned to trade-unionism, making up a good half of the membership of the Knights of Labor and of the American Federation of Labor. In lesser numbers Catholics affiliated with the more radical movements of the late nineteenth century, notably with Henry George's crusade against land monopoly. In support of the so-called Single Tax program, the Reverend Edward McGlynn mobilized an impressive number of Irish-American Catholics.

Conservative Catholics fearing a subversion of the social order

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Note. This paper was read at the meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, April 24, 1948, at Rock Island, Illinois. Editor.

viewed these movements with profound suspicion and urged the Church to condemn them. But the Hierarchy refused to do so. Thus, as is well known, Cardinal Gibbons with the support of his fellow-bishops persuaded Rome in 1886 to lift its recently imposed ban on the Knights of Labor. Following a prolonged controversy, the Church also permitted Father McGlynn to agitate for his land reform theories. But this action did not mean, it must be emphasized, that the Church was yet ready to make the promotion of social reform an integral part of its religious mission. The Hierarchy's attitude toward social reform was more negative than positive, more tolerating than approving. Only in part, it must be confessed, was the Hierarchy motivated by considerations of justice and charity, the usual grounds of Catholic action. The Church authorities refused to condemn Catholics participating in social reform out of considerations essentially political. The bishops were thoroughly convinced that the Church's peace and progress depended on the speedy Americanization of its members and leadership. As Gibbons stated in his letter defending the Knights of Labor, "The accusation of being un-American—that is to say, alien to our national spirit—is the most powerful weapon which the enemies of the Church can employ against her." Catholics must cultivate, he insisted, a patriotic citizenship in keeping with the country's civil institutions and customs. And this meant that Catholics were ordinarily free, apart from ecclesiastical authority, to make decisions on social, political, and economic questions.

Only in this permissive sense—as an aspect of Americanization—did the Catholic Church display any marked interest in social reform before the second decade of the twentieth century. American Catholics had not organized to carry forward the Church's positive social program as outlined in recent papal encyclicals, especially in *Rerum Novarum,* Leo XIII's great pronouncement on the condition of labor, issued in May, 1891. Though Leo denounced Socialism and defended private property as an ordinance of the natural law, he insisted that the property right be exercised in accordance with the age-old precepts of justice and charity. Employers were morally bound, he emphasized, to pay workers a living wage, the wage to be high enough to support the wage-earner "in reasonable and frugal comfort." In order to win this objective, employees had a natural right to associate in trade unions. Moreover, the state should intervene not only to regulate the terms of the wage contract but also to remove or lessen the many burdens inflicted upon workers by modern industrial society. Thus Leo would have the public administration eliminate Sunday labor, shorten the work day, prohibit or regulate the labor of women and children in factories and work-shops, and use the taxing power to encourage an increase in the number of property holders.

For nearly two decades American Catholics virtually ignored these social teachings of Leo XIII. A conspicuous exception was the Midwestern Populist, the Reverend John A. Ryan, a professor in the St. Paul Seminary, whose book, *A Living Wage,* published in 1906, was the first to explore scientifically the bearing of Leo's encyclical on industrial reform in the United States. He complained, however, that he lacked backing. "The bishops who have made any pronouncements in this matter," he wrote in 1909, "could probably be counted on the fingers of one hand, while the priests who have done so are not more numerous proportionally."[1] The clergy had equally ignored social works, for example, building associations, cooperative societies, settlement houses, consumer leagues, and child labor committees, that is, agencies designed to lessen or remove urban evils by removing their causes.

The Church, of course, had practiced charity to a conspicuous degree, having by 1910 nearly twelve hundred charitable institutions. These establishments, mainly orphan asylums, hospitals, and homes for the aged, were for the most part relief agencies which aimed only to protect individuals against the effects of urban evils, not to remove the evils themselves. Of preventive philanthropy the Church as yet had very little. Catholics as a group were not yet active in the social settlement and related movements. Though St. Rose's Settlement in New York and Brownson House in Los Angeles, for example, were among the finest in the land, the settlement idea was not understood by Catholics generally. Thus a Catholic magazine complained in 1904 that in the Catholic view the social settlement was no more than "another agency in the Church through which pious and unsophisticated young Catholics can work off their youthful zest and energy, and get some experience in practical charity."[2] This flippant attitude ignored the role of the settlement in studying and publicizing social conditions, in stimulating the forces of neighborhood regeneration, and in promoting municipal reform and labor legislation.

Catholics presently realized, however, that they must come to terms with the social movement. As the trade unions steadily and rapidly gained in membership, as scholars and humanitarians pushed forward a comprehensive program of labor legislation, as the leaders of organized charity grimly determined to discover and remove the causes of urban poverty, and as the new social politics of Progressivism won the electorate, the Church's hold on the loyalty of her members was jeopardized. Catholics in large numbers lost interest in the Church which seemed indifferent, if not hostile, to all movements for the promotion of their economic welfare. Many Catholics, in fact, turned to Socialism, acquiescing in Socialist propaganda in the trade unions, joining the Socialist party and supporting its candidates for public office. This drift was so strong by 1909 that a Socialist magazine predicted that within five years "the Socialist movement within the Catholic Church . . . will be one of the great forces of the Socialist party."[3] Studiously refraining from attacking the Catholic religion, Socialists promised Catholics material welfare, "more of the product of their hands, shorter hours and better conditions, *here and now*."[4]

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[1] "The Church and the Workingman," *Catholic World,* LXXXIX (Sept., 1909), 781.

[2] "Educated Catholics and the 'Social Settlement' Question", *The Dolphin,* VI (Dec., 1904), 703–704.

This incipient alliance between Catholic workingmen and the Socialist movement was vigorously assailed by the Church's authorized spokesmen who contended that Socialism embraced not only an economic program but also a materialistic philosophy opposed to Christianity and all forms of revealed religion. For a time, however, Catholic apologists failed to differentiate between the economic and philosophic aspects of the Socialist movement, denouncing each with almost equal vigor. This wholly negative attitude toward Socialism meant in practice Catholic support of the intolerable abuses of the prevailing system. Thus Catholic newspapers "not infrequently" upheld the "robber trusts," Socialists gleefully pointed out, and suppressed "the really salient passages" in Leo's encyclical for "fear of offending their capitalistic readers and advertisers!"[5]

Realizing that such conduct only intensified the malady that must be cured, thoughtful Catholics under Ryan's leadership demanded a moratorium on denunciations of economic Socialism. The economics of Socialism—Essential Economic Socialism or Semi-Socialism, as Ryan called it—did not fall "under the condemnation of either the moral law or the Church."[6] For the Socialism of Debs, Spargo, and Hillquit permitted as much private property as Leo's encyclical really demanded. At no time during a long life did Ryan believe, and much less his growing army of followers believe, that a Socialist economy was desirable or practicable. But they affirmed that such a regime would not be necessarily immoral. They were certain that less criticism of economic Socialism would tend to keep Catholics out of the socialist movement and to convince them that "the Church is not opposed to genuine and legitimate industrial reform."[7]

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[3] *Wilshire's Magazine* quoted in *Catholic Fortnightly Review*, XVI (July 1, 1909), 402.

[4] Fred D. Warren, *The Catholic Church and Socialism*, Gerard, Kansas, 1914, 7.

[5] *"Fighting Socialism with Boomerangs," Catholic Fortnightly Review*, XVI (Nov. 15, 1909), 647–648.

This strategy against Socialism was first widely followed by the men and women who directed the Church's manifold charities. Alarmed at the growth of social discontent which stemmed, they believed, from bad industrial conditions, they organized in 1910 the National Conference of Catholic Charities. Led mainly by Monsignor William J. White of Brooklyn and the Reverend William J. Kerby, professor of sociology in the Catholic University at Washington, these charity workers were "nearly as progressive as Leo XIII or Pius X" on the issue of the Church's social mission.[8] At its first meeting the Conference laid down its platform, namely, the coordination of Catholic charities, cooperation with non-Catholic charity organizations and "a war on the causes of poverty whether that cause is a disease germ lurking in a dark corner or a merchant prince grown rich on defrauding laborers of their wages."[9] As organ of the social conscience and attorney for the poor, the Conference in the decade that followed championed protective labor legislation, persuaded Catholics to expand and improve the old and to adopt the new forms of charity, and encouraged the growth of a trained personnel for Catholic social service.

The formation of the National Conference of Catholic Charities owed most, perhaps, to the St. Vincent de Paul Society, the poor-relief organization, which for several years had cautiously applied the new ideas. All the Catholic societies now adopted a social program, either singly or through their affiliating body, the American Federation of Catholic Societies, which by 1912 represented three million members. The initiative was taken by the German Catholic

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[6] "May a Catholic be a Socialist?," *Catholic Fortnightly Review,* XVI (Feb. 1, 1909), 72.

[7] *Ibid.,* (July 1, 1909), 394.

[8] William J. Kerby, "The National Conference of Catholic Charities. An Interpretation," *Catholic World,* XCII (Nov., 1910), 148–149.

[9] Monsignor William J. White, "The First National Conference of Catholic Charities," *Survey,* XXV (Oct. 8, 1910), 93–94.

Central Verein, whose hundred and twenty-five thousand members established in 1908 a Central Bureau for the Promotion of Social Education, and a German-English magazine, *Central Blatt and Social Justice,* exclusively devoted to social improvement. At its convention of 1909, the society formulated in specific terms a notably constructive program, calling especially "for the promotion of more progressive labor legislation." To the end of helping to secure such legislation, the Verein's main interest, it launched a social study-program and championed the cause of union labor. While conceding "that organized labor in the trade union movement has at times made mistakes," the Union "unhesitatingly" endorsed "the right of organization" and recommended "faithful co-operation with the American Federation of Labor, guided as it is by conservatism, with the National Civic Federation, with the American Association for Labor Legislation and kindred organizations." The Verein fought the powerful open-shop campaign as "tantamount to a denial of the workingman's right to organize."[10]

Presently the Verein's program was taken up by the American Federation of Catholic Societies. In statements and resolutions approved in successive conventions after 1910, the Federation declared its sympathy with the aspirations of the workers to better their condition by organized effort in conservative trade unions, endorsed collective bargaining and trade agreements and urged employers to recognize the fundamental right of workingmen to organize. The Federation pledged its support to all legislation for the elimination of unnecessary labor on Sunday, a living wage, reasonable hours of labor, protection of life and limb, abolition of child labor, just compensation for injury, and proper moral and sanitary conditions in the home, shop, mine and factory.[11] In the hope of making the program a reality, the Federation set up in 1911 a Social Service Commission to function as a continuing body. Its chairman was Bishop Peter J. Muldoon of Rockford, a truly progressive prelate who for many years was the Hierarchy's official spokesman on social questions.[12]

The man who did most, however, to formulate and extend the

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[10] "The Aftermath of the Indianapolis Convention," *Central-Blatt and Social Justice,* II (Oct., 1909), 7–9; "A Catholic Social Movement Under Way," *Catholic Fortnightly Review,* XVI (Nov., 1909), 642.

[11] "Views of Catholic Soocieties," *Survey,* XXIX, (Oct. 19, 1912), 84; "Resolutions of the Catholic Federation," *America,* IX (Aug. 23, 1913), 479; John J. Burke, "The Catholic Federation Convention," *Outlook,* CXIII (Aug. 30, 1916), 1030–1032.

[12] "Catholic Federation Resolutions," *Catholic News,* Sept. 2, 1911, 5.

Federation's social program was the Social Service Commission's secretary, the Reverend Peter E. Dietz. Born in New York City in 1878, Dietz was ordained priest in 1904 and spent the next two decades organizing Catholics for social action. Brilliant and versatile, he labored with painstaking and untiring zeal. He discerned the new needs and induced his fellow-Catholics to meet them. The influence he exerted was second only to Ryan's. Both men were superb moulders of public opinion, Ryan primarily as the academician and Dietz primarily as the organizer of the American Catholic social movement.

Dietz first attracted national attention through the pages of the *Central-Blatt and Social Justice,* whose English section he launched and for a short time edited. Sensing the need of better understanding between the Church and the labor movement, Dietz attended the American Federation of Labor convention in 1909 on his own initiative and in succeeding years as fraternal delegate of the American Federation of Catholic Societies. He was particularly impressed with the recently founded church-labor committees and social service commissions of the leading Protestant denominations and of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ of America.[13] With the aid of Catholic trade-union officials he accordingly organized a small society in 1910, The Militia of Christ for Social Service. Dietz served as its executive secretary and as editor of its short-lived magazine, *Social Service,* while Peter W. Collins, the secretary-treasurer of the Electrical Workers of America, became the society's official lecturer.[14] The Militia of Christ directed its fire against extremists, on the one hand against Socialists in their attempts to capture the American Federation of Labor and on the other against conservative Catholics in the habit of grossly exaggerating radical influences in the Gompers' body.[15]

In forming the Militia of Christ, Father Dietz and his associates hoped to encourage the federated Catholic societies to broaden their social program. When with the creation of the Social Service Commission this expectation was realized, the Militia of Christ while keeping its identity joined forces with the stronger and more representative body. As the Commission's secretary Dietz spread its social teachings far and wide. He supervised the preparation and distribution of an extensive pamphlet literature; he supplied the Catholic press with a weekly newsletter applying Catholic social doctrines to current issues. Made editor of the widely read *Bulletin,* official organ of the Catholic societies, he devoted more than half its space to a Social Service section.[16]

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[13] For an excellent account of these organizations see Charles Howard Hopkins, *The Rise of the Social Gospel in America Protestantism 1865–1915,* Yale Studies in Religious Education, XIV, New Haven, 1940, 280–317.

[14] Peter E. Dietz, *The Militia of Christ. Constitution and Charter Laws,* Milwaukee, 1912.

[15] Peter E. Dietz, "Trade Unions and Catholics," American Federation of Catholic Societies, *Bulletin,* VII (March, 1913), 6–7; Peter W. Collins, "The Labor Movement and Socialism," *Central-Blatt and Social Justice,* II (Feb., 1910), 7–10, in reply to Joseph Husslein, S.J., "Socialism and the American Federation of Labor," *America,* II (Nov. 13, 1909), 113–114.

In their yearly conventions the Federation and its Commission analyzed every significant aspect of the social question, not merely labor-management relations. Besides social legislation, the Social Service Commission explored the whole problem of social work in its bearing on the successful handling of immigrants. The discussions made clear that modern "scientific social work, and especially work of a preventative kind, . . . is the imperative need of our immigrant parishes."[17]

The Charities Conference, the Militia of Christ, and the Social Service Commission marked "a new advance in Social service in the American Catholic Church," wrote the *Survey* magazine in 1912.[18] In themselves instruments of social study with a view to social action, they encouraged miscellaneous forms of social education during the decade: study clubs, institutes, summer schools and lecture bureaus. Besides wafting social doctrine through all the working forces of the Church, these agencies of social study prompted the founding of several schools of philanthropy and social service in which many men and women were thoroughly trained in the theory and practice of social action.[19] The first of these schools opened in Boston in 1913; by the end of the decade a half-dozen or more flourished in various parts of the country. The Boston school functioned alongside the Catholic charities of the city, while most of the others were university enterprises, notably the excellent ones at Loyola University, Chicago, and Fordham University, New York. The Loyola school was founded by the Reverend Frederic Siedenburg whose brilliant career in the social movement followed several years of study in Europe.[20]

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[16] "Our Catholic Social Work in 1913," *America,* X (Jan. 3, 1914), 301; "The Social Service Commission," *Bulletin,* VIII (Feb., 1914), 5; Paul L. Blakely, "The Federated Catholic Societies," *America,* XI (Oct. 10, 1914), 638–639.

[17] Frederick Siedenburg, S.J., "The Immigration Problem," *Bulletin,* X (Oct., 1915), 1, 4.

[18] "Views of Catholic Societies," XXIX (Oct. 19, 1912), 84.

[19] *Bulletin,* VIII (May, 1914), 6; *America,* VIII (Oct. 12, 1912), 16; *ibid.,* X (Oct. 18, 1913), 40; *ibid.,* (Dec. 27, 1913), 280.

Perhaps the best results in the field of social training were scored by Father Dietz whose school, the American Academy of Christian Democracy for Women, as he called it, was widely acclaimed. Sharing in the growing conviction that successful social work required a trained personnel, he opened his institution in 1915 at Hot Springs, North Carolina, relocating in Cincinnati once the experiment demonstrated its usefulness. In the eight years of its existence, the school provided its hundreds of graduates with a most satisfactory social education which enabled them to assume positions of leadership in almost every major Catholic community.[21]

The gradutes of the social service schools facilitated the vast expansion in Catholic social work which occurred during the decade. Charity agencies doubled in number, institutions of the new philanthropy making up nearly all the increase. The number of social settlements increased from about twenty to a hundred or more, while other forms of the new charity, for example, child-caring devices and boarding homes for working women, also multiplied many fold. The various industrial schools, day nurseries and kindergartens, already established, broadened the scope of their work. Lay women, through hundreds of clubs, leagues or guilds, some of which were national in scope, were mainly responsible for these efforts at social betterment. By the end of the decade Catholics had come to regard social service as a religious calling. So great was the interest that in the early twenties some immigrant groups and their friends organized to promote institutional methods of church work; these methods were esteemed the American way of securing religious results.[22]

As the new charities multiplied, means of coordination on the local level became increasingly imperative. Beginning in Pittsburgh in 1910, bureaus of Catholic charities were organized in over thirty heavily Catholic communities. On the genesis of these bodies the

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[20] *St. Vincent de Paul Quarterly,* XIX (Aug., 1914), 185–192; *ibid.,* XXI (Nov., 1916), 322–327; *Catholic Charities Review,* I (Feb., 1917), 60, 62; *ibid.,* III (Sept., 1919), 215–216; *ibid.,* V (April, 1921), 128; *ibid.,* (Oct., 1921), 274.

[21] *Bulletin,* X (Aug., 1915), 1; *ibid.,* (Oct., 1915), 2; *ibid.,* (Nov., 1915), 1; *ibid.,* XII (April, 1917), 4; *ibid.,* (Sept.–Oct., 1917), 13–14; *The White Cross Nurse,* Series VI (July, 1917), 1-12; *Announcements of the American Academy of Christian Democracy for Women,* Asheville, N. C., 1916.

[22] "The Cyrenians. A New Association for Immigrant Welfare Work," *Catholic Charities Review,* VI (Oct., 1922), 277–280; "The Cyrenians," *ibid.,* (Dec., 1922), 364–366; *ibid.,* VII (Feb., 1923), 60–61.

National Conference of Catholic Charities and the federated Catholic societies exerted a decisive influence.[23] While their primary task was to supervise and correlate Catholic charities, a good half of the bureaus employed full-time social workers for family case work. Only a few bureaus were strong enough to cover the whole field of Catholic relief. The prevailing practice restricted the bureaus to Catholic cases involving religious or moral problems, the more normal cases being left to secular agencies.[24]

Catholic social service steadily advanced in spite of the resistance it met from many priests and a large part of the Catholic press. Objection centered on the professional social worker who in some quarters was considered "as a sort of cold-blooded mercenary."[25] Many Catholics were slow to realize that specialists had become necessary, that for the performance of the new tasks the Church could not rely entirely upon lay volunteers or members of religious orders. This was a most serious difficulty—the psychological inability of many to understand how a person could legitimately earn a money income helping others. The extent and character of the opposition alarmed and distressed social workers; one of their number, Margaret Tucker, widely known settlement leader and teacher in Dietz's school, suggested a compromise system, namely, the semi-cloistered deaconess institution. This arrangement, she felt, would allay suspicion that the social worker was motivated by worldly considerations without impairing her lay freedom and usefulness.[26]

Her plan was not widely adopted, partly because the nation's entry into World War I called for social action which only lay folk could perform. To this end, the Hierarchy itself, in August, 1917, assumed general oversight of Catholic war-time social service by creating the National Catholic War Council, whose Administrative Committee was headed by the experienced Bishop Muldoon. The Council was the Catholic counterpart of the War-Time Commission of the Federal Council of Churches and the Jewish

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[23] M. J. Scanlan, "Diocesan Charities and Their Organization," *Catholic Charities Review,* II (Dec., 1918), 297–301; Frederick Siedenburg, "Federation of Catholic Societies," *Catholic World,* CXI (July, 1920), 438–439; John O'Grady, "New Perspectives in Charity," *Commonweal,* X (Oct. 30, 1929), 668–670.

[24] John O'Grady, "The Future of Catholic Case Work," *Catholic Charities Review,* VI (March, 1922), 93–95.

[25] Margaret Tucker, "Catholic Settlement Work—An Analyses," *Catholic Charities Review,* II (Dec., 1918), 306.

[26] *Ibid.,* III (Jan. 1919), 18–21; Margaret Tucker, "Cross Currents in Catholic Charities," *ibid.,* VI (March, 1922), 78; "Two Letters on Social Service," *ibid.,* III (Sept., 1919), 204–205; "A Religious Community of Professional Social Workers," *ibid.,* V (April, 1921), 124–127.

Welfare Board, and with them derived its main financial support from the various war drive funds. With ample means at its disposal the National Catholic War Council through its Committee on Special War Activities expanded and coordinated existing social agencies and created new ones for the purpose of securing the spiritual welfare of the service man and his family and of maintaining patriotic morale in the major cities. Besides establishing two playgrounds and twenty-one welfare houses in Allied countries, the Council built and operated twelve visitors' houses in connection with army camps, founded twenty-two clubs and subsidized hundreds of others for the use of service men, opened fifteen Catholic hospitals to the free after-care of discharged veterans and their families and set up two rehabilitation schools, thirty-nine employment bureaus and fifteen workingmen's clubs. By early 1920 when its activities ended the Council had also established twenty-eight settlement or community centers to the end that the discontent stirred up by the war and its aftermath might be turned from "radicalism and anarchy" "into the ways of American liberty and freedom."[27]

The Council was deeply concerned, in fact, with Americanization, launching a country-wide Civic Education Program aimed primarily at the millions of immigrants "who have had," it was regretfully said, "no instruction in democracy or any experience in its operations."[28] The oversight of the campaign was entrusted to Dr. John A. Lapp, noted expert in the fields of vocational education and labor legislation. For the use of students and lecturers he prepared two text-books, *The Fundamentals of Citizenship,* and *Co-Builders of our America,* which in the judgment of many non-Catholic educators were the best of their kind.[29] While Lapp and his associates in the Council urged all immigrants to seek speedy naturalization, they avoided the usual attempts at forcing the English language and American ways upon the foreign-born. Nor did they teach that true patriotism meant blind devotion to the nation apart from the great ideals of truth, justice, and human brotherhood. "We hold," they emphasized, "that no plan short of complete social justice should be held as a goal in programs for good citizenship or Americanization."[30]

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[27] "The Promise Fulfilled," *National Catholic War Council Bulletin,* I (Feb., 1920), 13–18.

[28] John A. Lapp, "The Campaign for Civic Instruction," *The National Catholic War Council Bulletin,* I (July, 1919), 11–12.

[29] "The Fundamentals of Citizenships," *ibid.,* (Nov., 1919), 22–24.

[30] John A. Lapp, "Bogus Propaganda: Dollar Mark Shows in Attempts to Control Americanization Program," *ibid.,* (June–July, 1920), 9-10.

The Council acted on this conviction when in February, 1919, it issued the Bishops' Program of Social Reconstruction. Although in two places the undesirability of Socialism was alluded to, the document exposed the flaws in the existing system and advanced a dozen remedies, some of which seemed far-reaching at the time. Thus the Program called for social insurance against unemployment, sickness, invalidity, and old age; a federal child labor law; the legal enforcement of labor's right to organize; public housing for the working classes; progressive taxation of inheritances, incomes and excess profits; stringent regulation of public utility rates; government competition with monopolies if necessary to secure effective control; worker participation in management; and co-operative productive societies and co-partnership arrangements in order to enable the majority of wage earners to "become owners, or at least in part, of the instruments of production."[31] These were indeed far-reaching proposals—for the reform, of course, not the overthrow, of the existing order. Compared to the "voluntarism" of Samuel Gompers and the ruling groups in the American Federation of Labor, the Bishops' Program of Social Reconstruction was truly radical. It epitomized in fact the aspirations of the democratic, non-Communist left-wing of the post-war American labor movement. On one issue, namely, the legal enforcement of labor's right to organize, the Bishops' Program displayed uniqueness and prophecy. The Catholic bishops were the first important group to suggest legislation for the positive encouragement of trade unionism and collective bargaining. Neither wing of the labor movement recognized the possibilities of the proposal until the economic crisis of the late twenties and the thirties. Then it speedily became an article in labor's faith and finally as a result of court decisions and the New Deal labor laws, avowed public policy.

Besides promoting more or less directly the triple program of industrial reform, civic education and social service, the National Catholic War Council sought to co-ordinate all the working forces of the Church to these and other ends. Its peace-time successor, the National Catholic Welfare Council, formed late in 1919, continued the task, working through five bureaus one of which was the Department of Social Action, headed by Muldoon and directed by Ryan and Lapp. To some students of social trends, the emergence of the Welfare Council (Conference after 1922) was another victory for Catholic centralization. Though a few Catholics echoed this interpretation, the men and women associated with the Conference insisted that the creation of the new body meant not the centralization but "the coordination of Catholic effort."[32] The new organization aimed not to dictate but to aid and facilitate the working plans of all Catholic social agencies.

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[31] John A. Regan, *Social Reconstruction*, New York, 1920, 235.

In any view, the formation of the National Catholic Welfare Conference culminated a fruitful decade of thought and action in the social field. In these years the Catholic Church officially formulated and to a marked degree perfected an integrated urban social policy. Heavily urban in membership since the 1840's and 1850's, the Church had wrestled continually with its difficult environment, and with no little success. For a full half century, however, it had acquiesced in rather than positively promoted social reform, subordinating this part of its religious mission to the pressing demands of charity and Americanization. As the progress of Socialism and the new philanthropy began to alienate many Catholics early in the present century, social reform gained central place among the Church's welfare activities. Convinced now that the Church and its immigrant members stood in less need of Americanization than did industry and trade, the Church authorities boldly demanded social reform in the name of justice and charity, the only truly legitimate grounds of Catholic action. Ryan, Dietz, Kerby, Muldoon and Lapp were the inspiring personalities; the Charities Conference, the Social Service Commission and the War Council were the instrumentalities through which they worked.

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[32] "The National Catholic Welfare Council," *The National Catholic War Council Bulletin,* I (Jan., 1920), 7–8.

Cadillac at Detroit

After the fort at Detroit was completed, Cadillac started building a warehouse to shelter the merchandise, and also began to write. His first letter, addressed to Pontchartrain under date of August 31, 1701, is unfortunately not extant except in the form of an abstract in the third person for the minister.[1] The fort, he declares, is capable of stopping the English and the Iroquois, but more men are needed: he must have 200 picked soldiers who should at the same time know some trade, and he insists that he is able to feed that number. The abstract continues:

> He is very much pleased with the help given him by Sieurs Tonti and Charconacle. He feels obliged to say, however, that Father Vaillant, a Jesuit, who went to Detroit with the convoy did all he could to prevent the success of the post which Cadillac founded. Vaillant went so far as to say that those who remained would become slaves, or at least would lead a miserable life; that his post was nothing but a chimera and would only last one year. All this talk made such an impression that part of the men asked to return to Montreal with this Father, who, after having cost the king more than 100 pistoles to send him to Detroit, told Cadillac that he had made arrangements with his superior to go back to Quebec in the autumn, and that the Recollect who is acting as chaplain for the troops was enough to take care of the men at the post.
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> He [Cadillac] even maintains that this Jesuit made known to the chief of the Indians that this Recollect only came into this part of the country to bring death to them; so that several of the chiefs asked him [Cadillac] whether this was true, and it was very difficult for him to dispell their fear.
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> He represents that if His Majesty does not grant the Seminary of Quebec some gratuity to support a few missionaries at Detroit, to educate the children of the Indians, and to teach them French, and if the same bounty is not granted the Recollects for the same purpose, he does not think that he can found an establishment on this place; being convinced that the Jesuits will omit nothing to wreck it, because they do not want to stay there, and because they take umbrage at the Recollects and the Priests of the Foreign Missions.

Up to this time the French have not been buying large hides from the Indians, because it was too cumbersome to transport them; he promises to change all that. He also needs more boats to transport the product of his farm—to be begun next year—to Montreal; and finally, he begs the minister to set up an independent government in the region between Detroit and Niagara, and, naturally, appoint Cadillac as governor.

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[1] Cadillac to Pontchartrain, August 31, 1701, AC, C 11A, 19: 92–94v.

We are not concerned with Cadillac's rosy dreams, which lend such glowing colors to his description of the Detroit River and of the surrounding country. "Sieur de Lamothe," wrote Callières and Champigny to Pontchartrain with their tongues in their cheeks, "sent us a favorable description of the country where he is; although he says that he is sending a copy of it to you, we are attaching a copy to our letter."[2] The description is so poetic that the minister answered saying: "I beg of you to send me at the first opportunity a plan of your establishment and an exact, and fully detailed account of the country and of its surroundings. As I will read it to His Majesty, you must not write the sort of things you sent me last time. You made it read so much like a novel that no one could take seriously a single bit of its contents."[3] We are, however, greatly interested in some of the statements which he attributed to Father Vaillant, in this first letter, especially in the light of what is known about Vaillant from other sources.

Father François Vaillant de Gueslis came to Canada in 1670 when he was twenty-four years old;[4] he taught the lower classes at the college of Quebec until his ordination on December 1, 1675.[5] For the next two years, he was assistant to Father Chaumonot at Lorette, and was then sent to the Iroquois missions in 1678. There he had spiritual charge of the Mohawks until his return to Quebec in 1685, to continue his ministerial work among the Indians of the neighborhood.[6] From 1686 to 1692, his official duties were those of treasurer of the college of Quebec. During this period he accompanied the Denonville expedition,[7] and also went to Albany to negotiate with Governor Dongan.[8] The governor of New York sent him back to Fort Frontenac, escorted by two Indians to prevent him from having anything to do with the Mohawks.[9] At the time of the abandoning of Fort Frontenac, he returned to Quebec and resumed his duties of treasurer.

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[2] Callières and Champigny to Pontchartrain, October 5, 1701, AC, C 11A, 19: 16v; printed in Margry, 5: 190, translated in MPHS, 33: 110.

[3] Pontchartrain to Cadillac, May 6, 1702, AC, B 22: 78v.

[4] C. de Rochemonteix, *Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle-France au XVII*e *siècle*, 3 vols., Paris, 1895–1896, 2: 413, note 2.

[5] Aug. Gosselin, *Vie de Mgr de Laval*, 2 vols., Québec, 1890, 2: 691.

[6] Copies of the catalogues for these years in the Archives of the Collège Ste. Marie. The catalogue for 1685 has the following note: "P. J. Garnier, Millet, Vaillant, reduces ab Iroq. propter imminens bellum. Occupantur in variis mission[ibus]."

[7] E. B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York* (NYCD), Albany, 1855, 9: 334.

[8] NYCD, 9: 389; 3: 510, 519, 520–531. Charlevoix, Shea's edition, 3: 300.

[9] Charlevoix, Shea's edition, 3: 302.

In 1692, he was appointed superior of the Jesuit residence in Montreal;[10] after four years there he returned once more to Quebec, and took up the duties of treasurer of the college.[11] He was occupying this position when he was sent with Cadillac to Detroit in 1701. The governor of Canada had ordered him to return via Fort Frontenac,[12] intending that he should go back to his former mission. He left for the Seneca village with Father Garnier,[13] in August 1702.[14] Two years later, the Seneca Indians sent him as their representative, asking Governor Vaudreuil to demand satisfaction from the Ottawa for a violation of the treaty of 1701. He then returned to western New York and contributed not a little to thwart the effort of Colonel Schuyler who sought to prevail upon the Five Nations at Onondaga to expel the Jesuit missionaries.[15] Father Vaillant remained in the Seneca mission until 1707, when he was succeeded by Father d'Heu; he took up his residence at Montreal, where he remained in office until 1715.[16] Two years later, after having spent forty-seven years in Canada, he returned to France and died at Moulins, on September 24, 1718.[17]

As time went by, the commandant embellished his abovementioned version of what had taken place at Detroit. It must be said that by 1704, Cadillac was certain that no Jesuit would ever go to his post; hence he did not care what he said. The account of Vaillant's conduct in Detroit is found in a memorandum of November 14, 1704, couched in the form of questions and answers.[18] Pontchartrain is supposed to be asking the questions, and Cadillac, of course, knows all the answers.

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[10] *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques* (BRH), 34 (1928): 305.

[11] AC, C 11E, 14: 138; Rochemonteix, 3: 376, note 1.

[12] Marest to Cadillac, October 8, 1701, Margry, 5: 215.

[13] Callières to Pontchartrain, November 4, 1702, NYCD, 9: 737; Silvy to Thyrsus González, October 29, 1702, Jesuit Archives, Rome, *Gallia*, 110, II, 259; Raffeix and Germain to *id.*, *ibid.*, *Gallia* 110, I, 89, 90.

[14] AC, C 11E, 14: 138; Crépieul to Thyrsus González, October 28, 1702, Jesuit Archives, Rome, *Gallia*, 110, II, 258.

[15] NYCD, 9: 759, 761–764; Charlevoix, Shea's edition, 5: 164.

[16] BRH, 34 (1928): 505.

[17] [A. Melançon], *Liste des Missionnaires Jésuites, Nouvelle-France et Louisiane, 1611–1800*, Montreal, 1929, *s. v.*

[18] The document is in AC, C 11E, 14: 168–198; printed in English in MPHS, 33: 198 ff. The ridiculous theory that this dialogue took place in Quebec (E. M. Sheldon, *The Early History of Michigan from the first settlement to 1815*, New York and Chicago, 1856, 142 ff, and J. V. Campbell, *Outlines of Political History of Michigan*, Detroit, 1876, 67 ff), has been disposed of. The very idea of Pontchartrain coming to Quebec is preposterous. But it cannot be believed, says Burton (MPHS, 33: 241, note), "that because Cadillac used this form of reporting his troubles, he is unworthy of confidence." Whether Cadillac reports his troubles in prose or in poetry, in dialogue or in monologue, makes no difference, he simply cannot be trusted.

> The Jesuits, having had information by the first vessel [from France] that you [Pontchartrain] had resolved to have Detroit settled, came down to the river side and showed me much courtesy, which I returned as best I could. When they learned that the settlement would be started, they busied themselves effectively with the governor general and the intendant in their usual manner, in order to establish themselves there to the exclusion of all other ecclesiastics. This was immediately granted them and they nominated Father Vaillant to go and take possession.

In May 1701, he goes on to say, when he arrived in Montreal ready to leave for Detroit, a change was made; a Franciscan was to go with the convoy to act as chaplain of the troops. The Jesuits were persuaded that Cadillac had made the change. At Detroit, Father Vaillant exerted himself so well "that if the soldiers and Canadians had believed him, they would have set out after two days for Montreal on the promise made by this Father that he would get their wages paid by the intendant for a whole year, although they had been employed only six weeks." Cadillac then explains how he found out that Father Vaillant was the cause of the trouble. He assembled his men for a general meeting at which the Jesuit was also to be present. When the latter saw that the soldiers were about to speak of the discontent he was spreading, he promptly retreated and ran to the woods. But why, asked Pontchartrain, not reprimand him? Because, said Cadillac, this would have been bad for the service of the king; that is why he contented himself "with informing the governor general and with giving you an account of it." Since then the "Jesuits [are] so offended that I can easily understand why they have sworn to ruin me in one way or another."

The scene at the Quebec dock may be dismissed as imaginary. Cadillac came back on the *Seine,* bringing the order that the Detroit proposal be examined anew. The Jesuits could hardly have come down to honor the "executor" of the plan, for when he landed neither the governor nor the intendant had as yet approved of it; and then, Champigny took Charron's plan instead. As regards their being anxious to send a man to Detroit, their private letters sent in that year to the General of the Order are unanimous in saying that it is impossible to man the missions already opened.

The letter of Father de Crépieul, for instance, says that "This Canadian mission stands in the greatest need of laborers, for none had been sent from France for the past two years." Fathers Nouvel, Binneteau, and Favre, have gone to their reward; Fathers Enjalran and Baury have returned to France. Delegates from four Iroquois villages have come to Montreal to ask for Jesuit missionaries; "four of them have already left with these Indians . . . Moreover, the governor and the Company of the Colony are demanding two of our Fathers for the fort known as *le Detroit,* situated between the country of the Iroquois and that of the Ottawa . . . The old missions, Tadoussac and that of the Hurons, are in great need of missionaries."[19] This was in 1702, but the situation was not better in the previous year, when the convoy left for Detroit. Cadillac's fable about the Jesuits being anxious to go to his posts in 1701, is contradicted by the commandant himself in his letter of 1702, where he complained that the Jesuits "make us beseech them too much" to go to Detroit.[20]

There was one man who was anxious to have Jesuits at Detroit:—that man was Cadillac. It is not maligning him to assert that he harbored thoughts of selling brandy to the Indians assembled there; for he still looked upon a post in New France as a means of getting rich quickly, and the quickest way toward wealth was to sell brandy; but he also knew that the Jesuits would never countenance it. In 1702, he wrote that he was satisfied with Father De l'Halle, but there should be Recollects as well as Jesuits at the post. The first would take care of the garrison; the others of the Indians because "there is nothing so sweet as liberty of conscience; for my part, I think this especially necessary in these distant places." We can easily understand what that meant, and we can easily understand that on Cadillac's arrival at Montreal "a change was made." Who made the change is not said; Cadillac asserted that the Jesuits were convinced that he had done it, and it is difficult to see who else it could have been.

The return of Father Vaillant to Montreal added fuel to the flames; here was the proof of the "conspiracy hatched with Father Bouvart before Vaillant's return departure" to Detroit. There is fortunately abundant documentation showing that in fact there was no conspiracy. Father Germain wrote to Cadillac as follows: "I am not writing to any of our Fathers, because I have no doubt that Father Vaillant will have set out to return here before Madame de Lamothe arrives at Detroit, and I do not know whether he left some Jesuit in his place."[21] This is one of the fifteen letters exchanged between the Jesuits of Canada and the commandant of Detroit. All these letters were commented upon by Cadillac afterwards, when he wanted to justify himself with the minister in Paris.

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[19] Crépieul to Thyrsus González, October 28, 1702, Jesuit Archives, Rome, *Gallia*, 110, II, 258. "Jam enim 3^{us} est annus ex quo nullus Societatis ill[ic] ad no[s] [a]ccessit. Numquam tamen fuit nobis magis aliquod hujusmodi subsidium." Germain to *id.*, November 10, 1702.

[20] Cadillac to Pontchartrain, September 25, 1702, MPHS, 33: 150.

[21] Germain to Cadillac, August 25, 1701, Margry, 5: 211. These letters are translated in MPHS, 33: 104 ff.

> This fourth letter is from Father Germain, a former official of the Society, a good professor of theology and a man who is upright and pious; he is in fact a friend of Mme. de Lamothe (which may indeed cause him to be sent back to France). At the end of this letter, he is writing candidly of what he knew, without adverting that his superior of Quebec [Father Bouvart] had promised M. de Lamothe to let him have Father Vaillant to start a mission at Detroit. For, it is evident from this letter that the return of this Father was expected even before his departure from Quebec, and that this action was taken only in order to hoodwink M. de Lamothe and with the intention of causing the failure of this establishment.

As usual, these comments do not square with the facts. When Vaillant went with M. de Lamothe, it was understood that he would not stay at Detroit; everybody knew this, the superior of the Jesuits, the governor, the intendant, and Cadillac himself. The missionaries at Michilimackinac had asked for Father Vaillant, and they had been given to understand that he would go to help them.[22] Soon after the departure of Father Vaillant from Detroit, Lamothe wrote to Father Marest complaining that he had been deceived. Marest answered: "With regard to the return of Father Vaillant, it ought not to have surprised you, for I have been assured that it had been arranged from down there [Quebec]; and that M. de Caillières was expecting him at Catarocouy [Fort Frontenac]."[23] "This letter," commented Cadillac, "evidently proves that the return of Father Vaillant, who had been given to M. de Lamothe to begin his mission at Detroit, had been arranged in Quebec . . . It discloses one more thing, for it seems that this decision was taken in agreement with M. de Callières, which is unbelievable."

Not only is it believable, but that is exactly what took place in Quebec. It was safe to speak of this action as "unbelievable," for Callières was dead when Cadillac wrote these remarks. It is likely that one of the reasons why he took Father De l'Halle with him was because he knew that Father Vaillant was to go back, and he also knew that neither the king nor the minister would agree to leave workmen and soldiers without a priest. In 1703, realizing that the Jesuits would not come to Detroit, he wrote a long letter to Pontchartrain, complaining of the Jesuits' going back on their word.

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[22] Carheil to Tonti, June 17, 1702, Margry, 5: 236.
[23] Marest to Cadillac, October 8, 1701, Margry, 5: 215.

> You were good enough to write to me that the king wants the mission of Detroit to be administered by the Jesuit Fathers, and that their superior of Quebec would grant me some who would be more in sympathy with me than Father Vailland had been.
>
> It seems that your orders should be sufficient to induce their superior to provide promptly for that mission, especially after the special favor which you have done him by approving of Father Vaillant remaining in this country after having opposed the will of His Majesty as he has done.[24]

The letter to which Cadillac refers was Pontchartrain's answer to his own of August 31, 1701.[25] The contravention of the king's orders can only refer to the spreading of disaffection among the men of Detroit. The minister's answer was as follows:

> I was surprised when I read what you wrote about the conduct of Father Vaillant, Jesuit. I made known to his superiors the intention of the king ordering him back to France.[26] However, as I would like you to keep on good terms with his Society, which it seems you have attacked somewhat inconsiderately, I am sending a letter to MM. de Callières and de Beauharnois that His Majesty approves of Father Vaillant's remaining in Canada, if you ask for him. Act in such a manner that the Jesuits become your friends, and do not hurt them. Moreover, His Majesty wants the missions around Detroit to be taken care of by the Jesuits. They will give you a missionary who will be more in sympathy with you than Father Vaillant.[27]

In the case of the Vaillant-Cadillac affair, as in many other cases where the Jesuits are concerned, Margry deliberately omitted documents which explain what appears puzzling in the relations between the missionaries and his hero. In his compilation, he published Cadillac's letters to Pontchartrain as well as another letter addressed to La Touche.[28] In the volume of the French Archives, from which these two letters are taken, there is a memorandum written by La Touche to the minister which explains certain difficulties. "This is the original letter of Lamothe Cadillac, all the documents are annexed to it. I think all should be sent to M. de Champigny that he may examine it carefully, send his opinion in detail, and give his reasons."[29] The whole letter, however, was not sent, but rather an abstract of it, and in the margin were written Champigny's comments. The résumé of the paragraph of Cadillac's letter of August 3, 1703, quoted above reads as follows: "The superior of the Jesuits was pledged to carry out this agreement, because he knew the intention of His Majesty in this respect, and because my Lord [Pontchartrain] had done a special favor to Father Vaillant who had contravened the order of the king." Champigny, who was in Quebec at the time, commented thus:

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[24] Cadillac to Pontchartrain, August 31, 1703, Margry, 5: 302.

[25] Pontchartrain to Cadillac, May 6, 1702, AC, B, 23: 77v–78v.

[26] "Father Gouye doubtless mentioned to you what I told him was the intention of the king with regard to Father Vaillant, who very thoughtlessly made use of all kinds of means to bring about the fall of the settlement His Majesty thought necessary to begin on the Strait. His Majesty desires his return to France, and as he wants a Jesuit Father to be in charge of the spiritual of the settlement, he wishes that you send another Jesuit giving him the necessary instructions to cooperate to the success of the settlement." Pontchartrain to Lamberville, May 3, 1702, AM, B 2, 161: 333.

[27] Pontchartrain to Cadillac, May 6, 1702, AC, B 23: 78.—In the margin of the abstract from Cadillac's letter where he had complained of Father Vaillant (AC, C 11A, 19: 93), Pontchartrain had written: "f[ai]re revenir le P. Vaillant en fr[ance] y envoyer d'autres."

[28] Cadillac to La Touche, August 31, AC, C 11E, 14: 136–137v, printed in Margry, 5: 336–340; extracts from Cadillac's letter to Pontchartrain, August 31, 1703, with notes by Champigny, AC, C 11E, 14: 138–150; Cadillac to Pontchartrain, August 31, 1703, AC, C 11E, 14: 153–164v. The first and third letter are translated in Sheldon, *History of Michigan*, 101 ff; and in MPHS, 161 ff.

> There is no proof that he [Bouvart] did not carry it out. With regard to Father Vaillant, he was the treasurer of the house [college of Quebec]. There was no other Jesuit to give Sieur de Lamothe; Vaillant was only to stay until another Jesuit were sent to take his place; if he came back, it was because there was a Recollect at Detroit who could easily take care of the thirty men then at the post. Sieur de Lamothe cannot know whether my Lord had granted a special favor to Father Vaillant. He complained about this Jesuit in 1701; in the following year, my Lord gave orders to send Father Vaillant back to France; this would have been done, if he had not been at the time in the Iroquois mission where his presence is very necessary. If Sieur de Lamothe knew that My Lord had forgiven Father Vaillant, he could only have known this in 1702. The mailships did not arrive in Canada until October, and his [Cadillac] letter in which he says to my Lord that the superior of the Jesuits pledged himself to carry out the agreement, because my Lord forgave Father Vaillant is dated of the month of August 1702. He must then have guessed that my Lord had granted the favor. I never heard it said in Canada that Sieur de Lamothe complained about Father Vaillant, I only learned of it in 1702 from the letters of my Lord.[30]

Champigny's reasoning on this latter point is not quite correct. Cadillac was told in the letter of May 6, 1702, that the favor was left to him. The letter arrived at Quebec in October, and on September 25, 1702, he wrote to Pontchartrain: "I have carried out submissively what you wrote concerning Father Vaillant [about the favor]. This was done after my letter was written, in the presence of his superior, and of Father Germain. Father Vaillant set out for the Seneca, four hours after the arrival of the king's ship."[31] Father Vaillant did not leave "four hours" after the arrival of the king's ship; for he left in August long before Cadillac knew of the "favor" granted by Pontchartrain.

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[29] MPHS, 33: 181.
[30] AC, C 11E, 14: 138.
[31] Cadillac to Pontchartrain, September 25, 1702, MPHS, 33: 151.

Perhaps, it might be said that Father Vaillant should have waited until another Jesuit arrived from Michilimackinac; but aside from the fact that the Jesuits of Michilimackinac had themselves asked for help, Vaillant had been ordered by Callières to return by way of Fort Frontenac. It is doubtful whether Callières would have sent Vaillant back to France without further instructions from Paris; and it is certain that he would not have sent him back merely because the missionary had left Detroit, for his return had been arranged before the departure of the convoy. Champigny also noted that he had not heard of the commandant's complaints against Vaillant until 1702; yet Cadillac wrote to Pontchartrain that he had complained to the governor general in 1701. There is no mention of Vaillant in Cadillac's letter to Callières and Champigny, since he knew better than to complain to the governor general who had arranged for his return.

As for the disaffection which Cadillac claimed to have been spread among the builders of Detroit: first of all, according to their own contract these men would have lost a year's salary, if they had returned to Montreal after six weeks. Secondly, it is probable that Vaillant traveled with Charconacle from Detroit to Fort Frontenac, whence the officer proceeded to Quebec.[32] If Cadillac had complained against Vaillant in the letter which he brought to Callières and Champigny, they would have asked Charconacle about it, in which case the conduct of Father Vaillant would have been known in Canada in 1701. In fact, in the summary of the letter which he sent to Callières and Champigny Vaillant's name does not even appear; nor is there any mention of the Jesuit in the letter of Tonti which was brought to Quebec by Charconacle himself.

All this detailed evidence clearly shows that the return of Father Vaillant was not planned for the purpose of wrecking Detroit; that there was no "conspiracy" on the part of the Jesuits to ruin Cadillac's village; that Vaillant did not stir up discontent at Detroit; and that Cadillac did not write to Callières as he says he did, for Vaillant could have appealed to Charconacle who had just returned from Detroit. There is finally one last bit of evidence in the form of a letter from Father Vaillant written at Fort Frontenac on his way back to Quebec.

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[32] Vaillant wrote to Cadillac from Fort Frontenac on September 23, 1701; Charconacle arrived at Quebec on October 4.

Our fortunate meeting at Fort Frontenac with Mme de Lamothe gives me a good opportunity of thanking you very humbly for all the courtesies with which you have overwhelmed me this summer, both during our voyage to, and at Detroit. I beg of you to be so good as to continue to grant them to the Father who is to come down from Michilimackinac to Detroit; for I have no doubt you will have one there very soon. I met the Huron Quarante Sols on Lake Erie, who assured me that the Hurons were coming to settle near you this very autumn without fail. With regard to the Iroquois whom we met on the way, we did not find them much opposed to your settlement; some even showed pleasure, because when hunting in the Lake Erie country, they will find at Detroit all they want in exchange for the skins of roe-buck, stag, and hind; so all you need is to have plenty of merchandise at a low price. I am not telling you the news we have heard here, because Mme de Lamothe informed us of it; she will tell it to you as exactly as I could write it.[33]

Besides showing the gratitude of Vaillant for kindnesses received and an interest in the prosperity of the post he supposedly attempted to wreck, this letter confirms what Champigny wrote: Vaillant was to return and another Jesuit was to come from Michilimackinac. In the note appended to this letter by Cadillac himself, there is not one word about disaffection; yet, here, if anywhere, would have been the place for the commandant to contrast his own conduct with that of the Jesuit.

This sixth letter is from Father Vaillant and proves the deference of M. de Lamothe for him; the matter was public and could not be denied. No doubt this Father had his cue from his superior of Quebec, and he is trying to deceive M. de Lamothe when he writes that one of the Fathers of Michilimackinac is to come to Detroit, apparently to replace him, which was not carried out.

Father Bouvart, the superior of Quebec, also wrote to Cadillac in April 1702, thanking him on behalf of Father Vaillant who was praising Lamothe for the singular kindness shown him while in Detroit. Bouvart repeated what Vaillant had said about some Jesuit from Michilimackinac coming to take his place, hoping that Fathers de Carheil and Marest had by this time moved to Detroit with their Indians. In the note to this letter, there is not one word about the manner Vaillant had allegedly repaid all these kindnesses.[34]

Now that we know what did not happen during the six weeks following the arrival of the convoy at Detroit, let us see what actually happened. The Canadians who had accompanied the convoy were men of tough fibre, but even to them the outlook at Detroit appeared very bleak, and they could not live on Cadillac's poetry. That they were dissatisfied is certain, not because of what Father Vaillant said, but because provisions failed as soon as the convoy arrived. Wrote Lamothe: "All this undertaking [the building at Detroit] was carried out with three months' provisions, which I took when I left Montreal, and which were consumed in the course of the journey."[35] And Tonti added that "vivres avoient manqué des en arrivant."

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[33] Vaillant to Cadillac, September 23, 1701, Margry, 5: 213 f.

[34] Bouvart to Cadillac, April 20, 1702, Margry, 5: 223 f.

Tonti himself had been dispatched to Michilimackinac to buy some Indian corn. In October, Callières, who had heard that no corn would be found at Michilimackinac, made the Seneca Indians promise to bring some to Detroit.[36] Callières and Champigny wrote to Pontchartrain at the beginning of October, that "since the departure of Sieur de Lamothe, we sent him two canoes loaded with victuals and merchandise for he might need them";[37] and more food was sent to Detroit with the canoes bringing Mesdames de Lamothe and Tonti to the post. At the end of October, Cadillac sent Tonti to Fort Frontenac "to get some refreshments."[38] Amid such privations, the discontent of the workmen can easily be imagined. It seems that some wanted to return with Father Vaillant, but, as Cadillac wrote in his letter to Callières, because dwellings were not very much advanced "he was obliged to keep nearly all his men, trying to finish the buiding of the fort before winter sets in."[39]

In a letter of 1702, that is to say, one year after the beginning of Detroit, Cadillac speaks of the progress made. A résumé of this letter was annotated by Pontchartrain, who wrote in the margin:

> This is a romantic description. He is the only one who speaks thus about that country. In their speeches to M. de Callières, the Indians said that the land was under water and worthless; to make it productive, irrigation would be necessary, which, the Indians say, they are unable to do.[40] Those who are there are forced to fetch corn from two hundred leagues away. The only game is thirty leagues from the post.[41]

Cadillac, who saw everything on a grand scale, asked not to have the post manned with a mere garrison, else it would have been better never to have started it. Pontchartrain tersely wrote in the margin: "M. de Callières had written that he had to recall half the garrison lest they starve to death."[42]

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[35] Cadillac to Pontchartrain, September 25, 1702, MPHS, 33: 139.
[36] Callières to Pontchartrain, October 4, 1701, Margry, 5: 191.
[37] Callières and Champigny to Pontchartrain, October 5, 1701, Margry, 5: 188.
[38] *Ibid.* to *id.*, November 6, 1701, Margry, 5: 200.
[39] *Ibid.* to *id.*, October 5, 1701, Margry, 5: 189.
[40] Parolles des Ottawas . . . July 5, 1702, AC, F 3, 8: 310 f.
[41] AC, C 11A, 20: 130v.

It is small wonder that the men who had been engaged in 1701 wished to return, and there was no need of Father Vaillant to fan the dissatisfaction. Cadillac wrote somewhere that he staked his life on the success of the venture. From the beginning, it seems that the Detroit settlement would be a fiasco: no Indians had come yet; the Jesuit missionary had gone; Cadillac had by now received two rather chilly letters from the missionaries of Michilimackinac; the men grumbled because they were hungry; and the soldiers had been recalled because they were starving. It looked as though Cadillac's staked life would soon be forfeited.

We have been told repeatedly that Cadillac did not want Jesuits at Detroit, yet for three years, he moved heaven and earth to secure them for his village. The only reason which can account for his efforts in this direction is that he had at heart the success of his undertaking, that is, his personal profits; for when his pocketbook was concerned, Cadillac forgot his hatred. There was one Jesuit in particular, Father Jean Enjalran,[43] of whom he spoke in glowing terms:

> He is one of the most able Jesuits, and the only one who had mastered the Ottawa and Algonquian tongues. Because of his great influence over the minds of the Indians, he was chosen to summon all the tribes to the general peace which was concluded at Montreal. He expresses himself clearly as to the importance of the settlement of Detroit, and proves in his letter of August 27, that it is important to unite all the missions as well as the other posts to this one . . .
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> But because this Father stated his opinion about it in public, the [superiors of the] Society [of Jesus] in Canada sent him back to France; they will doubtless find some other excuse for sending him away.[44]

Again commenting on a letter written a few days later, Cadillac noted:

> This Father had just passed through all the missions and he admits that the whole Upper Country stands in need of reorganization. He is indeed right. His uprightness has made him hated by his fellow Jesuits who got rid of him against all justice. His letter also proves that M. de Callières had cast his eyes upon him to be in charge of all the missions, but it had doubtless been a part of the policy of the governor general to yield

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[42] AC, C 11A, 20: 133v. Cf. Pontchartrain to Cadillac, June 20, 1703, AC, B 23: 228v.

[43] The missionary spelled his name as in the text.

[44] Cadillac's annotations to Enjalran's letter of August 27, 1701, Margry, 5: 208 f.

> to the torrent, and to sacrifice this good laborer so necessary in the Lord's vineyard to the envy of his colleagues. No one has ever understood the character of the Indians better than this Father, nor has anyone had more influence over their minds, but his crime consisted in having admitted that M. de Lamothe's plan was wonderful; and to that end he writes that he will take pleasure in assisting him in his glorious enterprise.[45]

These comments are not very reliable. Not only Enjalran, but Marest and Carheil, or for that matter any other Jesuit in Canada, would have gone to Detroit if he had been ordered by his superiors. The reason why Enjalran was sent back to France is not because he praised Cadillac's Detroit venture; the letters of the other missionaries including those of the superior of the mission had also commended the Detroit project. When Enjalran first wrote to the commandant, on August 7, the peace had been signed only three days earlier, and everything was so unsettled that Enjalran could not foresee how the general powwow would end. The postscript written three weeks later, on August 27, speaks of the intrigues against Detroit that were rife in Montreal, namely, on the part of the shareholders of the Company of the Colony and of the merchants. What the Court had decided about Detroit, whether the monopoly of trade would be given to the Company of the Colony or whether the king would keep it, was still unknown. Three days after having written the postscript to his letter of August 7, Enjalran wrote to Cadillac from Three Rivers:

> I am just meeting Madame de Lamothe who is quite resolved to go to Detroit. I should have been very much pleased if the intention to send me in your direction had permitted me to accompany her. No decision can be made regarding the importance of the mission at the post you are to establish, until steps have been taken with regard to the other missions; for the whole Upper Country needs reorganization. Our governor, after having heard me on the matter, thought I should be able to help in what pertains to my ministry, when we learn what the intentions of the Court are. Should we learn them early enough, I might still be with you before the winter, and I should be very glad to help you in your glorious undertaking, and to manifest the feelings of esteem with which I am, etc.[46]

When the ships finally arrived at Quebec, what Cadillac had feared had come to pass:—Detroit had been given to the Company of the Colony. We have just heard him say that Enjalran was sent back to France because he was in favor of Detroit. Another reason, but perhaps not much better, is given by Rochemonteix.

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[45] Cadillac's annotations to Enjalran's letter of August 30, 1701, *Ibid.*, 212 f.

[46] Enjalran to Cadillac, August 30, 1701, Margry, 5: 211 f.

> The Jesuits were far from being in agreement with regard to the timeliness and usefulness of Detroit. Father Enjalran considered it the head of all the western posts and sincerely wished it to succeed. He even desired to be sent thither, and this was also M. de Callières' wish; but Father Bouvart opposed it, because Father Enjalran was not in great sympathy with the Ottawa missionaries; above all, he had ideas different from theirs. He was, as one would say today, broadminded, tolerant, less severe than his brethren in the West with regard to the abuses of the trade and the licentiousness of the coureurs de bois. He was a practical man; he knew Ottawa and Algonquian perfectly; he had an undeniable influence over the Indians, and he did not think these should be unduly confined, nor be prevented from learning French and from adapting themselves to European customs. Since the Ottawa missionaries did not share his views, Father Dablon was forced to recall him from Michilimackinac to Quebec in 1688; thence he embarked for France on August 21, of the same year. He only reappeared in Canada toward the end of the century. Would it not have been imprudent, however great the desire of the governor general and of M. de Lamothe may have been, to have sent him to Detroit and to have entrusted to him the spiritual direction of this fort?[47]

All of this is sheer surmise. Rochemonteix' proof for the statement concerning Enjalran's character is supposedly given in a letter of Father Bouvart to Father General in Rome dated 1701. I did not find this letter; but I found one dated October 6, 1701, in which Father Enjalran is not even mentioned.[48] As for Dablon recalling him in 1688, there is this to be said: in the archives there is a gap of fourteen years, 1679 to 1693, during which there is no letter in existence sent by the Jesuits of New France.

So far as we know, what actually happened in 1688 was this. Enjalran had previously taken a prominent part in the campaign of Denonville of 1687, who wrote as follows to the minister:

> We had five or six men killed on the spot, French and Indians, and about twenty wounded, among the first of whom was the Reverend Father Enjalran, superior of all the Ottawa missions, by a very severe gunshot. It is a great misfortune that this wound will prevent him from going back again, for he is a man of capacity and of great influence, who had conducted everything well at Michilimackinac and to whom the country is under vast obligations. For had it not been for him, the Iroquois would have been long since established at Michilimackinac.[49]

Denonville evidently realized from the nature of the wound that

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[47] Rochemonteix, 3: 511 f.

[48] Jesuit Archives, Rome, *Gallia*, 110, 1, 93 f.

[49] Denonville to Seignelay, August 25, 1687, NYCD, 9: 338. Cf. Denonville's memoir of October, 1687, *ibid.*, 365, and Charlevoix, Shea's edition, 3: 288.—Enjalran was "a man to whom the country owes a great debt, for he always kept harmony among the Indians." L. H. de Baugy, *Journal d'une expédition contre les Iroquois*, Paris, 1883, 100.

Enjalran's days as a missionary in the West were over.[50] In 1688, he was in Quebec waiting for a ship that would bring him to France.[51] A letter of Tronson to Dollier de Casson states: "Father Enjalran wrote from La Rochelle, whence he went to a spa without passing through this city [Paris]. In the present state of affairs, there is no likelihood that he will be called to give information about the Ottawa missions to the Court, any more than about the rest of Canada."[52] The present state of affairs referred to by Tronson was the war of the League of Augsburg, which had begun in the preceding year.

After this, Father Enjalran's name drops out of the colonial records, until its reappearance eleven years later, when it is found appended to the preliminaries of the peace treaty of Montreal on September 8, 1700.[53] Why his name does not appear in the catalogue of 1700, we do not know. Perhaps he was only sent on a visit, and his stay was made subject to the approval of Father Bouvart. Callières who had the highest regard for Enjalran sent him to Michilimackinac toward the end of September 1700. He was to persuade the Western Indians to come to Montreal with their Iroquois prisoners and also to attend to the general meeting in which the treaty of peace was to be ratified by all the Indians.[54] Courtemanche was the official delegate of the governor, but Enjalran was sent with the officer because he was "a man of very distinguished merit, who thoroughly understood the character of all the Indian nations."[55] When they arrived at Michilimackinac, on October 30, the Indians had left for the winter hunt. While Courtemanche was making a tour of the various western posts, Enjalran remained at Michilimackinac "to dispose the Indians of that place to follow my [Courtemanche] orders."[56]

> He adroitly conciliated all of them and forced the most influential to send deputies to the various tribes, so that all would come to Montreal. He made

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[50] Beschefer to Villermont, September 19, 1687, merely mentions that a Jesuit was wounded. JR, 63: 274. Cf. St. Vallier, *Estat Present de L'Eglise et de la colonie francaise dans la Nouvelle France*, Paris, 1688, 92; Belmont, *Histoire du Canada*, 24; C. C. Le Roy de Bacqueville de la Potherie, *Voyage de l'Amerique Septentrionale*, 4 vols., Paris, 1722, 2: 208; Lahontan, *Nouveaux Voyages... dans l'Amerique Septentrionale*, 2 vols., La Haye, 1703, 1: 99.

[51] Enjalran left Quebec on August 21, 1688, with Joutel, Douay, and Cavelier. Margry, 3: 532.

[52] Tronson to Dollier de Casson, May 1, 1689, no. 406.

[53] Conference between Callières and the Iroquois deputies, NYCD, 9: 720.

[54] Callières to Pontchartrain, October 16, 1700, *ibid.*, 712.

[55] La Potherie, *Voyage de l'Amerique Septentrionale*, 4: 175.

[56] Callières to Pontchartrain, October 4, 1701, AC, C 11A, 19: 114v.

such an impression on them that in spite of the evil dispositions of a few chiefs who wanted to keep the Iroquois prisoners, he forced them to bring even these down to Montreal.[57]

"We like him," said Jean Leblanc, an Ottawa chief speaking in the name of the western tribes, "because we have noticed that he always takes our side." In the same speech, he begged Callières to send Enjalran to Michilimackinac, "but as he is getting on in years [he was 60] we are asking you for [Nicolas] Perrot, as his helper in all occasions when we shall be in need" of the missionary.[58] Courtemanche and Enjalran left Michilimackinac on July 5, 1701, with a fleet of 186 canoes full of western braves, and beached their canoes at Montreal three weeks later.[59]

It is easy to understand why Cadillac wanted a Jesuit with such an influence over the Indians. En route to Detroit, he wrote to the missionary who answered: "I do not know what reply to make to the letter I have received from you; I have at the same time received an honor which I value greatly for the confidence which you show you have in me."[60] The mark of confidence was probably that the Jesuit should accompany Mesdames de Lamothe and Tonti to Detroit; Callières, however, evidently did not wish to take any decision until he had heard from the Court and knew who was to be the proprietor of Detroit, the king or the Company of the Colony.

For a man who was so absolutely opposed to having Jesuits at Detroit, Cadillac was acting queerly. As already mentioned, he knew that Vaillant was to return. Why should he have written on his way to Detroit to Fathers Marest and Carheil to come to the post? And why should he have asked Carheil to come? For Vaillant also knew Huron, and Carheil did not know Ottawa.

We have treated at length of the difficulties between Carheil and Cadillac.[61] Marest, as we shall see, had trouble too. Joseph Marest was born in 1653; he entered the Jesuit Order at eighteen, and was sent to Canada in 1688. After spending two years at Sillery, near Quebec, where he learned Algonquian, he was sent to the West.[62]

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[57] La Potherie, *Voyage*, 4: 175.

[58] *Id.*, *ibid.*, 4: 257.

[59] Callières to Pontchartrain, October 4, 1701, AC, C 11A, 19: 116. According to Charlevoix (Shea's edition, 5: 143), 144 canoes left Michilimackinac, thirty had to put back on account of sickness. The contingent that arrived at Montreal numbered more than 800 Indians. La Potherie's memoir of 1702 in BRH, 22 (1916): 224.

[60] Enjalran to Cadillac, August 7, 1701, Margry, 5: 207.

[61] MID-AMERICA, 27 (1945): 194 ff.

[62] Rochemonteix, 3: 480, note 1.

Before recounting Cadillac's further adventures, we must say a word about the data we have concerning them. All the statements in the correspondence between Cadillac and Marest can be checked on independent evidence; but with regard to the speeches of the Indians, there is some uncertainty. Those made to Callières at Montreal were public, whereas those made to Cadillac were allegedly made at Detroit. We do not know who Cadillac's interpreters were, nor how much he may have suppressed or added to the speeches. At any rate, if the Indians spoke differently at Montreal and at Detroit, the Jesuits can hardly be blamed for that.

In his letters to Carheil and Marest, Cadillac had asked to have some wheat sent.[63] For many years, said Carheil in his answer, he had wished for a post on the Strait, and was glad to learn that a beginning had been made. All the Indians of Michilimackinac were then at Montreal for the signing of the peace; after consulting with Callières they will decide whether they are to leave Michilimackinac and whither they are to go. As for himself, he will follow them.[64] Three days later, Marest wrote to Cadillac praising the commandant for having decided that, as Cadillac had told him in his letter, there would be no brandy trade at Detroit. He then added: "We are expecting the return of our Indians at any time; then we shall know their real resolutions, and the intention of M. de Callières and of our superior"; as for him, he is ready to leave as soon as word came from his superior.[65]

Cadillac commented on this letter as follows: "In the second letter, Father Marest, the missionary of the Ottawa, is only acting pharisaically, for he had refused to obey the orders of the governor general, or even those which he received (at least according to all appearances) from his superior at Quebec."

Once again, Cadillac's comment is quite unfounded. There never was an order from Callières or from Bouvart. Even if Callières had wanted to, he would not have dared to order the Indians to abandon Michilimackinac. The actual facts can be gathered from La Potherie and from the minutes of the interviews between the Western Indians and the governor general.[66]

When Courtemanche and Enjalran left for the West in September 1700, they were instructed to demand the return of all the Iroquois prisoners, and to tell the Western Indians that they would find their own tribesmen now in the hands of the Iroquois. A Potowatomi chief, Ounanguicé,[67] warned his fellow Indians not to bring all the Iroquois prisoners at once, but his warning had gone unheeded. The other embassy that was sent to the Iroquois country, was composed of Maricourt, Joncaire, and Father Bruyas. "Maricourt who was the head of this embassy had positive and secret orders from M. de Callières. He brought back our French prisoners, but none of our Indian allies. When more than 800 of our allies . . . arrived at Montreal, and when they learned that the Iroquois had brought none of their prisoners, nobody could have been more surprised than they were."

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[63] Margry, 5: 254.

[64] Carheil to Cadillac, July 25, 1701, Margry, 5: 204 f.

[65] Marest to Cadillac, July 28, 1701, Margry, 205 f.

[66] AC, F 2, 1: 255–268v; printed in BRH, 22 (1916): 214–226, under the title "Un mémoire de Le Roy de la Potherie sur la Nouvelle France adressé à M. de Pontchartrain, 1701–1702." Margry printed an extract of this memoir, 5: 180–186.

They voiced their complaints and reproaches in no uncertain terms.[68] Their leader, the Rat, was particularly vigorous in his denunciations. Callières promised not to hand over the prisoners to the Iroquois until these had brought the Ottawa, but the Western Indians "were not satisfied with this answer. Our affairs were in a very bad state, and if the Rat had not died four days later, it would have been fearful." He was angry for "having been duped by M. de Callières." In a council, he reproached the governor for "having found the secret of redeeming the French; and he could see how Callières had sacrificed the interests of his tribe and those of all the allies." After the death of their leader, the Western Indians handed over to Callières all the Iroquois prisoners. The Iroquois envoys agreed to "hand over to Joncaire all prisoners of the allies who would go to the fort of M. de Lamothe.[69] When Joncaire once more went to the Iroquois country, they gave him four prisoners and refused to force the others to leave." It is quite clear that under these conditions, Callières could not order the Western Indians to go to Detroit after he had so signally deceived them.

In the conferences with the Western Indians, Detroit was specifically mentioned; they were told that the new post was all to their advantage, "but they did not pay much attention" to what was said to them.[70] The day after his arrival, Chichikatalo, a Miami chief, told Callières: "We desire to go to the St. Joseph River, and we ask you to invite all those of our tribe to assemble there."[71] Callières did so in an address to all the Western Indians before these returned to their country:

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[67] On this Indian cf. La Potherie, *Voyage de l'Amerique Septentrionale,* 4: 206, 208, 220, 245 f.

[68] Meeting of Callières and the Western Chiefs of July 29, 1701, AC, F 3, 8: 266–270. They had arrived on the previous day, Callières to Pontchartrain, October 4, 1701, AC, C 11A, 19: 114.

[69] Cf. *Voyage de l'Amerique Septentrionale,* 4: 237.

[70] *Ibid.,* 4: 227.

> As for what you are asking me, Chichikatalo, that the other Miami villages go to the St. Joseph River, you may assure all those of your tribe that they will please me if they join with you, because I am convinced, now that peace is concluded, that they will live more happily there than in any other place . . . Since I have learned that several among you, Hurons, Ottawa, and others, had the intention of leaving Michilimackinac to settle on the Strait, I have sent Sieurs de Lamothe and Tonti this spring to begin a settlement there, thus giving them time to build, and to enable them to protect you from the beginning of this winter as well as to supply your needs at a reasonable price.[72]

In the light of all this, Cadillac's reference to the "orders" of Callières seems rather ill-advised. Other documents show what the Indians themselves thought of moving to Detroit. When the Indians from Michilimackinac came again to Montreal in 1702, they declared to Callières that they had resolved not to leave their land, because of the great advantages there. Callières answerd them:

> You must be convinced of my friendship, I shall always strive to procure what is advantageous for you. This is why I felt obliged last year, when I learned that the land at Michilimackinac was worked out and not longer productive, to propose that you settle on the Strait where the land is not only good, but where game is also abundant. I went to great expense to begin a settlement where you could have what you need. I think that you will consider this affair more carefully, and after you are acquainted with its advantages, you will join those of your nation who are already there.

An Ottawa chief, Manit8egan, answered the governor in the name of all the Western Indians: "8tsik8et alone was personally told to go to the Strait; we were not invited. On the contrary, Reverend Father Enjalran told us last summer not to leave Michilimackinac, where he would come in the autumn." That is to say, Enjalran would have gone if the Detroit post had been given to an individual, or had been made a royal post like Michilimackinac, but when he learned that it was to be given to the Company of the Colony, Callières lost interest; for we should not forget that he was opposed to the monopoly of the Montreal merchants. He answered by quoting the speeches of August 6, mentioned above. At that date he may have thought that there would be merchandise at Detroit, but by this time most of it had been exchanged for necessary food.

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[71] Pourparlers entre M. de Callières . . . et les sauvages descendus à Montréal pour parvenir à la ratification de la paix, July 29, 1701, AC, F 3, 8: 263. Cf. the speech as reported in La Potherie, *Voyage de l'Amerique Septentrionale*, 4: 208.

[72] "Il [Callières] encouragea Chichikatalo de rassembler toutes les nations Miamises à cette rivière [St. Joseph] afin de n'y faire qu'un seul établissement." *Voyage de l'Amerique Septentrionale*, 4: 255.

Manit8egan then said:

> 8tisk8et sent us some tobacco this spring [1702] and told us that we should not move our huts. He knew that Detroit was no place at which to settle: the Indian corn does not grow higher than one cubit, because the land is always wet; this winter he had to go 200 leagues from Detroit to find game;[73] game at Detroit will not last long; and there is no fish which we will never lack at Michilimackinac; hence we cannot leave Michilimackinac.

Callières answered that perhaps 8tsik8et did not see the whole country around the Strait; if the land near the fort is not good, better land can be found "a little farther." But Manit8egan was not convinced:

> We see very clearly, our father, that it was your good will toward us that caused you to start a settlement on the Strait, and this because you were told that our land at Michilimackinac was exhausted. We have mentioned this fact to the Reverend Jesuit Father [Marest], and said that we wanted to take land across the shore [at Mackinac], three leagues from our villages. The Father told us he would follow us whithersoever we went. Nothing has been decided yet about it. But our plan is still not to go away from Michilimackinac because of the abundant fishing there.[74]

In the circumstances, there seems to be no reason for questioning the sincerity of Manit8egan. The Indian cannot be said to have been influenced by Marest, who was a thousand miles away at the time. He was not courting favor with the governor; on the contrary, his public declaration that Callières had been deceived with regard to the quality of the land around Detroit was certainly not calculated to win favor. Besides, he was merely repeating the advice of an Indian of his tribe who had spent the winter at Detroit.

Besides the Ottawa spokesman, deputies of the Noukens also spoke on this occasion. They said that they had gone to Michilimackinac for fear of their enemies. Callières told them that he had given Sieurs de Lamothe and Tonti as commandants, and these would take care of their affairs. Later in the month of July, other Western Indians arrived at Montreal. The spokesman was

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[73] The text has two leagues, an oversight evidently; for if the Indians had only to travel two leagues, they would have no reason for complaining. Cf. the text in AC, C 11A, 20: 130v.

[74] Parolles des Ottawas arrivés a Montreal le 5 juillet [1702], AC, F 3, 8: 310 f.

Longuekam. Le Pesant, Callières told them, had taken land at Detroit; and they should go there also. Longuekam answered the governor general as follows:

> It is true that the land of Michilimackinac is not good, but we know where to get some. You tell us to settle at Detroit; but our people who are there have made known to us that the land was worthless and that they will not remain long there. Furthermore there is much water and as we are not accustomed as the French are to make irrigating ditches, we could not grow anything on that land. We know that the Saulteux will not go either, even if you should despatch a canoe for the express purpose of having them go to Detroit.[75]

After such clear statements from the Indians of Michilimackinac, one can judge how much weight is to be attached to Cadillac's comments on the letters he received from the missionaries at the old mission. When he heard from them in August, he realized that the Jesuits would wait for positive orders from Callières. Hence his letter to Pontchartrain of August 31, 1701. In it, without rhyme or reason, he expresses his conviction that the Jesuits will do all they can to wreck his post, "because they do not want to stay, and because they take umbrage at the Recollects and the Priests of the Foreign Missions."[76]

Before examining Cadillac's report of what was said in the councils held at Detroit in October and December, and before comparing what was certainly said in Montreal in August with the Indians' alleged speeches at Detroit, we shall briefly give the contents of two more letters of Marest to Cadillac, which were received before these councils met.

In a letter to Marest, Cadillac complained about Father Vaillant having returned to Quebec. Marest answered that he should not have been surprised, since he knew that Vaillant was not to remain at Detroit. He then replies to Cadillac's question about the attitude of the Ottawa toward Detroit.

> I could not tell you what our Ottawa think about Detroit, and I believe that they themselves would have difficulty in saying what they think, for they do not agree. Several fear that, since their slaves [*i.e.,* the Ottawa prisoners] were not returned, which was the most essential article of the peace treaty, the Iroquois intend to deceive them; but if the prisoners are brought this autumn, as they hope, it will calm them somewhat. As for me, I am daily expecting orders from our Reverend Superior [Bouvart], but I do not think I could make any move before next spring. As the matter stands, I could not be useful to the Indians who are firmly resolved

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[75] Kiskakons, Sakis, Poux, Puants descendus a Montreal le 23 juillet, 1702, AC, F 3, 8: 312v f.

[76] Cadillac to Pontchartrain, August 31, 1701, AC, C 11A, 19: 93.

> to disperse into the woods, each in his own direction, and to get as far as they can. I recommend those who may come to visit you.[77]

This letter is annotated as follows by Cadillac:

> This Father is correct in writing that the Indians are not agreed as to the Detroit settlement. The speeches which the Indians made openly in the council [at Detroit] show that it is the missionaries who have set them at variance by the bad impression they gave them, and by threatening the Indians should they come and settle at this post.

Less than a fortnight later, Marest wrote again. The letter was entrusted to Quarante-Sols, who sent his wife with it to Michilimackinac instead of bringing it himself.

> Mikinak as well as the other Ottawa who are in your vicinity could have told you what their decision is, if indeed, they have a fixed decision; so it would be useless for me to write about it . . . I have already sent you word that it looks as though I shall make no move this autumn; even if I wanted to, I could not. I may say the same about Father de Carheil. . .[78]

The note of Cadillac to this letter shows what he had in mind from the beginning. He wanted the missionaries to leave Michilimackinac and come to Detroit, thus presenting the Indians with a *fait accompli* when they returned from their winter hunt.

> This eighth letter is from Father Marest. It contradicts what he wrote to M. de Lamothe in the second letter dated July 28, 1701, where he said that he was quite ready to set out in the autumn of the same year, if so desired; and he as well as Father de Carheil appear to have been requested to do so by M. de Callières. But all this was done to lull to sleep M. de Lamothe who did not feel like being lulled to sleep.

The letter of July 28 is not contradicted by that of October 20. In July, Marest was waiting for orders, but no orders came. In saying that the missionary was "requested [prié]" by Callières to follow the Indians, Cadillac is quite right, but the govenor's request was made conditional upon a free decision, on the part of the Ottawa (in council), to move to Detroit.

Margry gives an account of what took place in the councils held at Detroit between October 3, 1701 and December 7, 1703, together with Cadillac's remarks on what the Indians or the commandant himself said.[79] These remarks are taken from a manuscript in the same volume of the archives which immediately follows the other documents printed by Margry.[80] The manuscript is divided into three columns. On the right-hand side is a synopsis in indirect discourse, of the proceedings which Margry printed in full. The middle column contains Cadillac's remarks, which Margry prints in his notes. The third column of this manuscript is not printed by Margry at all, for it contains the comments of Champigny on the remarks made by Cadillac, and begins as follows: "To give credence to the remarks of Sieur de Lamothe on the speeches of the Indians and to the speeches themselves, one would have to suppose that everything is true, for which I would not vouch."

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[77] Marest to Cadillac, October 8, 1701, Margry, 5: 215 f.
[78] Marest to Cadillac, October 20, 1701, Margry, 5: 217 f.
[79] Margry, 5: 253–300.
[80] AC, C 11E, 14: 94–102.

On arriving at Detroit, an Indian named Otontagan is said to have asked for brandy. In reply, Cadillac gave him a sermon on the evils of strong liquor, which is reported for the edification of Pontchartrain. This Otontagan is La Potherie's Outontaga, "known by the name of Talon and commonly by that of Jean Leblanc, because his mother was very white—a rather rare quality among Indians."[81] Now this same Otontagan who, according to Cadillac, insisted so strongly on having brandy given to his men at Detroit, had made in fact two speeches at Montreal which brought upon himself the wrath of the Hurons. He asked Callières to forbid brandy being taken to Michilimackinac by his braves, and asked permission to pillage any Frenchmen that might be bringing liquor to the West.[82]

But the brandy was relatively a minor issue at present. Cadillac quotes the Indian as asking him the following question: "Is it true that you wrote to the Black Robes of Michilimackinac by the three Iroquois whom you met on Lake St. Clair, when you came with the convoy?" In answer, he denies having written by the Iroquois, but says that he wrote asking for wheat. Yet, said the Indian, the Jesuits showed us a letter from which you warned us not to come to Detroit, lest we die. Cadillac insists that he did not write such a letter, and eloquently exhorted the Indians to listen to the Jesuits only in what pertains to religion: "Onontio is the sole master of the land; I am one of his arms, I only speak to you by his order, and I never lie." The note added to the statement of the Indians says: "It is an invention of Fathers Marest and de Carheil in order the better to convince the Indians."[83]

Cadillac's denial of having written such a letter is quite worthy of belief, but no one can believe that Marest and Carheil read such a letter in the councils. They knew, as Marest himself wrote to

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[81] La Potherie, *Voyage de l'Amerique Septentrionale,* 4: 202.

[82] *Id., ibid.,* 4: 237, 258. See the speech of this Indian in AC, F 3, 8; 272.

[83] Margry, 5: 255.

Cadillac, that some of their Indians would visit the new post, and they knew the Indian character well enough to realize that everything they said about Detroit would be promptly reported to the commandant. Unless they were out of their minds, they certainly would not read a forged letter of Cadillac to Indians already on their way to Detroit. Champigny saw this:

> I do not believe that these Father wanted to dissuade the Indians of Michilimackinac from going to Detroit; those who wanted to go were free to do so, but they did not think that they had to abandon those who wanted to remain at Michilimackinac. As one of these two missionaries is for the Ottawa and the other for the Hurons, on account of the difference of languages and customs, both were apparently obliged to remain with the Indians. My opinion is that such freedom should be left to the Indians, and that some other Jesuit than the two [at Michilimackinac] must be sent to Detroit, or else a priest [of the Foreign Missions] or a Recollect as chaplain of the fort. There is already a Recollect there calling himself chaplain of the troops. If a Jesuit is desired, the Recollect must be recalled, for the two Orders do not get along together, and Detroit is not important enough to have priests of different orders.[84]

Two Hurons whose coming was heralded by Jean Leblanc, followed the Ottawa. Father de Carheil, they said, told them what Father Marest had told the Ottawa, urging them to go to the Miami settlement on the St. Joseph River and to return next spring to Michilimackinac. In the last council, the missionary dissuaded them from going to Detroit, "because you were not beginning a settlement, you had only come to sell your merchandise, and then you would return to Montreal." Before leaving Michilimackinac, the Indians had warned Carheil that they would report everything to Cadillac, and had been forbidden to do so. "We are sent to ask you to give us good lands and show us a place near you where to kindle our fire." In his answer, Cadillac repeated his former harangues about the orders of the king; Carheil was wrong in exhorting them to go to the Miami, "since the governor wants Black and Grey Robes . . . to settle here."[85]

For many reasons this is quite incredible. First, the Hurons and Ottawa did not understand one another, hence these two could not have repeated what Father Marest told the Ottawa. Second, the Indians did not spend the winter in other Indian settlements; they hunted. Third, no one will believe that Carheil should have spoken thus to Quarante-Sols with whom he was continually at odds on the brandy question. Fourth, the speech of Callières of August 6, 1701, says nothing about Black and Grey Robes.

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[84] AC, C 11E, 14: 94v.
[85] Margry, 5: 258.

We cannot check on what was actually said in the Huron council referred to by the two envoys, but even if Carheil had said what they reported, he would only have repeated what everybody in Canada was saying.[86] To disprove that he came to Detroit only to trade, Cadillac, with a sweeping gesture, added: "You can see by the fort which I built, and by the land already cleared that this is an important settlement."[87] Quarante-Sols and Alleyoué, the two envoys, must have been astonished at what they saw. In the following year, the commandant wrote to Pontchartrain that he "hoped" to have sixty arpents of land cleared by 1703.[88] His "land already cleared" in October 1701, is on a par with the "beaux bâtiments"[89] of Detroit about which he had written to Marest at the end of September. "As soon as your tribe arrives," said Cadillac to the two Hurons, "I shall give them a sizeable tract of land and shall show where to build your fort." This is all the more remarkable, because in September 1702, he wrote to Pontchartrain that he had fed 6,000 Indians spending the winter around Detroit,[90] while we know that at the end of October 1701, no natives, except a few roaming hunters, had come near the post.

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[86] See the letter of the Directors of the Company of the Colony to Pontchartrain, November 10, 1701, Margry, 5: 176.

[87] Margry, 5: 258.

[88] Cadillac to Pontchartrain, September 25, 1702, MPHS, 33: 137.

[89] Marest to Cadillac, October 20, 1701, Margry, 5: 218.

[90] Cadillac to Pontchartrain, September 25, 1702, MPHS, 33: 139.

Francisco Pablo Vásquez and the Independence of Mexico

A study of Francisco Pablo Vásquez brings to light the crucial problem faced by Mexico during its first decades of mature life, a problem that had to be met successfully if that country would as a true body politic grow in stature and merit the respect of its fellows in the world of nations.

The victory at arms brought separation from Spain in 1821. It contained no guarantee of self-government, or of its parent, self-control. And in spite of the sanguine temper of the newly created ruling class, stark realities commanded hard work and cautious planning. An immense national domain stretched from the Isthmus of Tehuantepec to the Oregon boundary. Fronting northeastward was the young, energetic United States of America. Far to the South, beyond the Central American provinces—soon to go their own way—Bolívar and San Martín strove to wrest the former viceroyalties from imperial bonds and to build permanent nations.

To match this unbalanced external environment, there was an internal setting fit to dismay. Without previous experience in self-management, or any traditions of a legislative congress, without an elected executive, or a system of courts with roots in local justice, definitely marked as colonial in economy, and altogether immature in the practice of political judgment, this brave new people attacked the problem of maintaining their independent life. The attack was complicated by serious weaknesses in the social body, most strikingly in the clerical ranks which experienced a sharp and painful blow during the revolutionary wars, and emerged with scars that indicated trouble in store both for religion and for civil peace.[1] Emotions ran out of hand, a fact demonstrated in the execrable action toward the Spaniards still in Mexico. Hubert Howe Bancroft, writing of the decree of exile of 1827, says that "The constitution was thus shattered, and the germ of illegality became firmly root-

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Note. This paper was read at the meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, April 23, 1948, at Rock Island, Illinois. Editor.

[1] See "Memorial de Vásquez al Cardenal Secretario de Estado, del 11 de Octubre de 1830," in Luis Medina Ascensio, *La Santa Sede y la Emancipación Mexicana,* Guadalajara, 1946, 212–218, on difficulties of the clergy.

ed."[2] To this people was committed the task of democratic rule, with its heady wine of popular enthusiasms, novel institutions, and a set of leaders more noted for theoretical competence than for proven capacity in administration.

The founders of the nation faced a triple duty: to preserve the military victory, to obtain national recognition from the rest of the world, and, most difficult of all, to work out a permanent form of government. In this labor a large share fell to Francisco Pablo Vásquez.

Vásquez was born at Atlixco, Puebla, on March 2, 1769, of a Spanish father and a Mexican mother. At nine his formal education began in the celebrated Seminario Palafoxiano in the city of Puebla. With a bachelor's degree from the University of Mexico, at the age of twenty he began to teach philosophy at the Puebla college of San Pablo. Continuing in his studies beyond the priesthood, he was promoted to the rank of lecturer in the Councils and Church Discipline. Finally in 1795 the University of Mexico conferred on him the degrees of Licentiate and Doctor of Theology. For a while he served as the parish priest of the church of San Jerónimo, Puebla, and then briefly at that of San Martín Tezmelucán, whence he was moved into Puebla and given charge of the Sagrario adjacent to the cathedral. Here his bishop, Msgr. Campillo, discovered his superior abilities and elevated him to the secretaryship of the episcopal curia. In 1806 he was made cathedral canon, and in 1809 instructor in canon law. Nine years afterward he became master of the cathedral school. Two-thirds of his life were thus given to strictly professional duties.[3]

Puebla, rich, cultured, conservative, largely opposed the first revolutionary movements, and Vásquez, like his bishop and most of the local clergy, kept far off from those turbulent affairs. But Bishop Campillo died in 1813, and he was succeeded by Joaquín Antonio Pérez, a man quite as important as Iturbide in the final overthrow of Spanish rule and a close associate of the latter in establishing the regime of free Mexico.[4] As his secretary, Vásquez came to sympathize fully with the move toward independence. His friend and stalwart supporter, Basilio Arrillaga, S.J., spoke and wrote brilliantly of Mexico's natural right to establish her own sovereignty, now that Spain had lost the right to rule.[5] (We recall that a Peruvian Jesuit, Viscardo y Guzmán, with his *Letter to the Spanish Americans by One of their Compatriots*, is said by Carlos Pereyra to have written "The act of independence of Hispanic America.")[6] Both Vásquez and Arrillaga were experts in political theory, and they thought as one on these questions. Hence when his country decided for freedom, Vásquez threw his full weight behind the cause. Bancroft calls him "a most learned and worthy ecclesiastic," which, to those who know Bancroft, is indeed high commendation.[7]

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[2] Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Mexico*, San Francisco, 1885, V, 61 note.

[3] Medina Ascensio, 69, is the basis of this paragraph.

[4] Bancroft, IV, V, *passim;* the last survivor of the old line of bishops, Pérez, died in 1827. Medina Ascensio, 30.

His great opportunity in public service came in the vital efforts of Mexico for international recognition. As soon as Iturbide was overthrown in 1823, a Congress was summoned to frame a republican constitution. Meanwhile, under the authority of the Junta de Gobierno, the Commission on External Affairs drew up plans for foreign relations. As their most necessary business they singled out negotiations with Rome, and this emphasis was kept for twenty years.[8] The instrument chosen in 1825 to implement this policy was Vásquez.

Genaro Estrada, in a fine essay introductory to his collection of presidential messages, writes that

> The choice of our foreign representation roused the greatest concern among the ministers. Foreign recognition, and indeed every act of courtesy toward us, was highly esteemed as a sign of trust in our position in the international scene, and of the inadmissability of our return to colonial subjection.[9]

He lists the three notable achievements of Guadalupe Victoria in international relations as the treaty fixing the boundary with the United States, the first law granting naturalization to foreigners, and the agreement with the Holy See.[10] Victoria himself, in his annual message of January 1, 1826, had this to say:

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[5] "Fue mas obra de Dios que de los hombres." See his letter to Pope Pius VII on the liberation of Mexico in Gerardo Decorme, *História de la Compañía de Jesús en la República de México durante el Siglo XIX*, Guadalajara, 1914, I, 217–219.

[6] As an indication of the part played by the writings of over fifty Jesuits exiled from the Americas, the letter has been printed many times, more recently in William S. Robertson, *The Rise of the Spanish American Republics*, New Yorok, 1936, 23–24, and lately in John F. Bannon and Peter M. Dunne, *Latin America*, Milwaukee, 1948, 290–291, where a long excerpt is given.

[7] Bancroft, V, 47.

[8] Medina Ascensio, 38.

[9] Genaro Estrada, *Un Siglo de Relaciones Internationales de México*, Mexico, 1935, x. On the justifications of Vásquez see Medina Ascensio, 70-71.

[10] Genaro Estrada, xii.

> The Holy Father, who unites in himself the double role of ruler of Rome and head of the Catholic Church, stirs the veneration and affection of the Mexican people. They look with tender solicitude on their connection with the Father of the Faithful, in objectives purely religious and ecclesiastical. The benevolent letter which Leo XII directed to me on the 29th of last July manifest his ideas of justice and leads us to believe that our envoy, who reached Brussels last year, will be received paternally and pay our tribute to the legitimate successor of Saint Peter.[11]

These lines glossed over a most unpleasant incident, which it was evidently the intention of Victoria to overlook. That was the famous letter of Leo XII entitled *Etsi Jam Diu* of September 24, 1824, in which the Pope urged the Americans to return to the obedience of Ferdinand VII.[12] The letter caused widespread consternation in Mexico, but the men at the head of government wisely preferred to see in it rather the results of Spanish machination than a genuine pontifical commitment. And Guadalupe Victoria instructed his envoy to act in this spirit, to play down its ugly implications, and to urge the Holy Father to go ahead as though he had never written it.[13] President Victoria himself took the lead in this course with a direct letter to Leo XII, and his words as quoted above reveal a remarkable diplomatic success. Leo XII returned a justly welcome reassurance in a letter which has been printed elsewhere.[14] And Vásquez went forward with his business, which was to get the Holy See to appoint bishops, and bishops completely independent of Spain. Of the nine sees, none had an incumbent in 1828.

For a reason rarely noticed by historians, it was essential to the new State that Rome grant the Mexican petition. Of course Roman recognition of new sovereignties traditionally followed the action of other nations, and at this time but few had given the recognition. But this is not the point. The entire Catholic Church in Spanish America was tied up with Spain, and even though the soldiers and viceroys be removed, the religious subordination would remain unless all the peoples abjured their faith, for the Church cannot function without its living authorities. And thus a most intimate dependence on Spain threatened to endure indefinitely, if Rome did not cut the bonds and appoint a new hierarchy without any relation to Madrid. In this light one can see why the Commission on External Affairs put these negotiations before all others. Yet the affair was extremely delicate from the Roman point of view. A real threat developed in Spain against such a move as the creation of an independent Spanish American hierarchy. The court announced its readiness to imitate Henry VIII and secede from the Church, should the Holy Father show Latin America the recognition implied in the appointments of new bishops without the approval of Spain and the dependence of these bishops on the Council of the Indies.[15]

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[11] *Ibid.*, 9. The annual messages of the Presidents of Mexico to Congress through the first decade of independence summarize the international efforts of the government.

[12] Medina Ascensio, 71–82, treats the genuine charactur of this papal Bull and describes in full its effects on Mexican thought.

[13] Such is the tenor of the above quotation. It is amplified in the presidential message of May 23, 1826. Genaro Estrada, 13. Cf. Medina Ascensio, 95–97.

[14] Mariano Cuevas, *História de la Iglesia in México*, El Paso, 1928, V, 168, gives the text in full.

During the wars Spanish American bishops had no communication with the Vatican, and when bishops died or went back to Spain (as some did) there was no way to replace them except through the impossible appeal to Madrid.[16] In this vacuum, with the principle of unity removed, there appeared an offshoot of clerical personalities whose radical doctrines and radically improper behavior grew into a menace both to constitutional life and to popular morals. It would be just as correct to argue that these *clerigazos* were the dynamic of the new secret societies—recall that Padre Alpulche founded the York lodges—as to say that Masonic groups undermined the public life of Mexico, a point in which both Bancroft and Genaro Estrada see eye to eye.[17]

To gain Roman agreement on the bishops, two hurdles had to be crossed: the Holy See must yield, and the Mexican government must compromise, on quite different points. The Pope had to override his fears of Spanish reactions and of the threats of the Holy Alliance, and to appoint bishops with jurisdiction independent of Spain. As is known, Colombia received this grant in 1827, due mainly to the political sagacity of Bolívar.[18] Such wisdom did not persevere in Mexico, whose first petition was simply for the independent bishops, but this was shifted in 1826 to the demand for a concession impossible in that day, the full Patronato as practiced by Spain since 1503.

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[15] W. Eugene Shiels, S.J., "Church and State in the First Decade of Mexican Independence," in *Catholic Historical Review*, XXVIII, (July 1942), 210.

[16] A splendid picture of this incommunication and of its effects in Argentina is drawn by Romulo D. Carbia in *La Revolución de Mayo y la Iglesia*, Buenos Aires, 1945.

[17] See Bancroft, V, 33–34, and Genaro Estrada, ix.

[18] Pedro Leturia, *La Acción diplomática de Bolívar ante Pio VII*, Madrid, 1925.

This abrupt change in his instructions gave to Vásquez in Europe a succession of crises which have led some, even Medina Ascensio, to belittle his diplomatic ability. He had left a small port near Vera Cruz on May 21, 1825, bound for London and ultimately for Rome.[20] His original instructions were to obtain the new bishops and to inquire what patronage, what nominating power the new nation might enjoy.[21] The first delay came when his government insisted that he be received as an agent of a recognized country, when in fact no such recognition had been extended.[22] It was an amateurish display on the part of the Minister of External Relations. But the chief obstacle was his new instruction to demand the complete Patronato grant. He demurred, and used various excuses to bring his government to reconsider, among them a diplomatic sickness. Guadalupe Victoria yielded somewhat. When, however, Guerrero became president in 1829, the pressure became so strong that Vásquez wrote a letter of resignation. Guerrero thus outlined his policy in his annual message to Congress on May 23, 1829:

> The Government deplores the death of Pope Leo XII who was just ready to appoint our bishops, as he did for Colombia. We have sent our envoy proper explanations (sic!) or the dictamen of Congress, with positive orders to proceed to Rome and act the character of a public servant as becomes his mission.[23]

Further trouble developed on the other hand, when in 1830 the cardinals of the Consistorial Congregation told Vásquez that they would not approve proprietary bishops but only those *in partibus* or of standing inferior to bishops in fully independent ecclesiastical life. On this occasion he delivered an address that is justly famous both for its prudence and its patriotism.[24] The new Pope, Gregory XVI, who succeeded the short-lived Pius VIII, was known as "the Mexican pope," so carefully had he studied the Mexican problem and so eager was he to settle it.[25] Both he and the government of Mexico, now under Bustamante, yielded to the insistence of Vásquez and his party, and in 1831 the important victory was won. The government nominated Vásquez; the pope tacitly allowed the

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[19] Medina Ascensio, 104–111.

[20] *Ibid.*, 71.

[21] This was the direction laid down for the Roman envoy from the first days of Iturbide until 1826-1827.

[22] Medina Ascensio, 68; Cuevas, V, 180..

[23] Genaro Estrada, 31.

[24] Cuevas, V, 159.

[25] Medina Ascensio, 169.

right of nomination; Vásquez was consecrated as a proprietary bishop and delegated to consecrate five other bishops on his return to Mexico. Though it was indirect, this act was a true recognition of the new nation in the field of greatest consequence both for its public morals and its future independence of Spain. The welcome given Vásquez when he arrived back at Mexico on June 6, 1831, was, we are told, universal.[26] For himself, this was but the beginning of a larger and more difficult task, and he at once took the leadership in the clergy and entered upon his public responsibilities.

The third great problem of independence was to construct a system of government that both mirrored the political character of the people and at the same time gave promise of durability. Now this problem in all its facets had none more striking than the relation between religion and the civil power. Vásquez and his fellow bishops, before they might take possession of their sees, were subjected to an oath that covered two points: they must submit to the laws of Patronato, and, following that, accept such divisions of their dioceses as might be acceptable to the Holy See.[27] They took the oath, on the understanding that the Patronato would be arranged by Concordat with Rome. The clergy did not oppose a Patronato as such, but, as will be shown, they feared the human agencies that would control its destinies.[28] And as years went on, those who stayed out of political party ranks came as a body to stand against it, and for the simple reason that its proponents struck at the very roots of the religious life of the nation.

To draw a parallel, Mexico in 1831 faced a decision very like our own in our first days of independence. It was to decide whether their religion might remain free of governmental regimentation. With us it was Virginia that gave the lead in the memorable American solution of 1776, the model for our Sixth Article and First Amendment on religious tests and established churches. Although there was this difference, that we were a multi-religious people while they were mono-religious, the problem stood equal in both cases. Had the Parsons' Cause triumphed and its principle persisted in the later history of our country, few will deny that the federal government would lack the support of a united citizenry.

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[26] Decorme, I, 302.

[27] Medina Ascensio, 173–174.

[28] Medina Ascensio, 174, states this directly. Vásquez himself took up his mission to obtain the Patronato with sincerity. The author cited says: "It would be a serious error, and an injustice, to accuse the Mexican clergy of hostility to the Patronato as such. With a sense of right, and yet serenely, the bishops and ecclesiastical cabildos tried to have the Holy See bestow the concession of this privilege."

Arnold Toynbee has a canny remark in his treatment of post-Reformation governments, especially that of Louis XIV and the brief effort of the Puritans.[29] Louis, one recalls, put his land into a religious straight-jacket, with Gallican rivots, and the result was a nation of sceptics and revolutionaries. A wise ruler, Toynbee says, will reverse the vicious principle of *Cujus Regio Ejus Religio* and make it read *Religio Regionis Religio Regis.*

Mexico began its republican history by adopting the second of these principles. But for reasons already indicated, the trend was reversed when the Yorkinos intruded into politics. They had their way. The settlement whereby government ruled religion was enacted into constitutional law in 1856 by those whom Bancroft calls "the advanced party" or "the socialists."[30] In their decree of new rules for society, they rearranged the surface and ignored the basic social organization.

The nub of the matter is rarely described. There were basic defects in religious practice in the Mexico of 1831, and its reform constituted an imperative. Vásquez was commissioned by Gregory XVI to visit and correct irregularities in the houses of religious orders.[31] He found things in so desperate a condition that he actually suggested to the Pope the suppression of many houses. To counter the investigation and renovation, some seventy of those men under suspicion joined the York Lodges to influence government and block the move, and they raised a fair sum of money to obtain the immunity. Other clerics abandoned their calling so completely as to devote the rest of their lives to the destruction of what they had forsaken. In this situation the reform affair, which should have been a purely internal religious matter, was carried into the public forum. Two highly charged contrary forces, the Catholic and what came to be called the anticlerical, stood in violent opposition. The latter, on the defensive, were far more vocal and successful in getting the ear—and the arm—of the Congress. They despoiled the endowments estabished for welfare work of all kinds, on the score that these were riches of the Church. They ended freedom of education so that private right ceased to have standing in court. The fathers of this suppressive movement were former clerics, in Europe Gregoire and DuPradt, in Mexico Mier, Mora, Alpulche.[32] This is the inner story of the religious struggle about which so much heat is generated and so little worthwhile history written.

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[29] Arnold Toynbee, *A Study of History* (Somervell abridgment), New York, 1947, 494. On page 483 he writes: "This theory [that rulers impose religion—or even superstition—successfully] is about as remote from the truth as the social contract theory of the origin of states."

[30] Walter V. Scholes, "Church and State at the Mexican Constitutional Convention, 1856–1857," in *The Americas,* IV (October 1947), 151–174. See Bancroft, V, 683, and *passim.*

[31] Decorme, I, 310–311.

Vásquez, then, undertook the double duty of improving religious conditions and of protecting the Church before successive congressional movements. He wrote and spoke with distinction, yet always moderately as became the scholar and gentleman.[33] His appeal was to sanity, to the actual mores of the populace, their traditions and rooted economy of life, and especially to respect for rights wherever they existed. This brought him into controversy with "the advanced party" as early as 1833, when the wily Santa Anna—who if he had any definite political position at all wanted to revive the Patronato—slipped out of the light long enough for his vice-president, Valentin Gómez Farias, to decree certain alterations in ecclesiastical life, such as the termination of the missions in California. Public revulsion at his conduct led to counter-action and tacit revocation of his decrees by the now returned Santa Anna.

In 1836 government attempted to bypass Vásquez and cajole the Pope into granting Mexico the full Patronato.[34] Vásquez met this challenge. In a comprehensive letter to Gregory XVI, he sketched the background of the maneuver in terms that indicate the quality of his character.[35] He was a thoroughbred. He disclosed that government had long acted as though in possession of the coveted power, by directing appointments to clerical posts, altering or confiscating funds, regulation of religious orders, disbarment of religious teachers. The move did not succeed. After eight years of futile negotiation Baranda, the Minister of External Affairs, declared in 1844: "The Pope wants independence, and the government demands the Patronato. This status is not permanent."[36] It is never permanent, when the State wants to direct the affairs of religion.

A wise government would have seen the issue as one of fact rather than of doctrine. That headstrong group could not understand how a ruler might remain sovereign while permitting freedom to voluntary associations made up of nearly one hundred percentum of the people. The same kind of haziness occurred on a point contested later in the convention of 1856, in regard to public recognition of religious vows.[37] Of old a religious could not spontaneously abdicate his vows any more than a husband could abandon his wife, and both defections were prosecuted. Quite different was the case of one who obtained proper release from his vows. The "advanced party" considered life under vows as "involuntary servitude," for the record. Scholes says that their argument appeared to be for the most part a demand for the extinction of religious orders as an institution in Mexico.

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[32] Shiels, "Church and State in the First Decade of Mexican Independence," *loc. cit.*, 210.

[33] A splendid example is seen in his 1836 letter of Vásquez to the Holy See cited in Decorme, I, 351–352.

[34] *Ibid.*, 351, Vásquez states: "not to us, nor to any of the bishops, was this matter submitted."

[35] *Ibid.*, I, 351–352.

[36] *Ibid.*, I, 352.

These are but instances of the running attack against the normal functioning of religion in the Mexico of those days. On the other hand there were not wanting reactionary extremists, such as those delegates of 1856 who argued that to omit from the law a public sanction for vows would open the gates and cause a wholesale egress of monks. This confuses shadow and substance. For the most part the debate proceeded on rough grounds, with dictatorships, minority government, chicanery among politicians, dodging of responsibility, the lure of loot, and all the baser causes of civil uprisings.

Vásquez and the revived hierarchy worked hard to restore the religious motivation of their people. To some extent they succeeded. They did not succeed in leading the constitution-makers to design a public law that was built upon the religion of the common man. Perhaps Mexican society was then in too deep a state of chaos for such an achievement. Nor did they bring Congress to see the real risks of a Patronato, that control of State over Church which can work only in an ideal world. The political forces of Mexico, largely unresponsive to the popular will, increasingly proved by their deeds how correct was the stand of Vásquez in this struggle. He died, afflicted by the sad state of his fatherland, on October 7, 1847.[38] Civil, religious and foreign war engulfed the country. If one knows why he lost the battle, the whole political history of Mexico takes on a new light. His merit seems to lie in this, that his persistent policy had its results in strengthening the ordinary citizen to stand up under a calamitous series of conflicts, and to emerge in our day more fit to carry on an independent, self-directed public life.

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[37] See Scholes, 161–162. On these debates, he remarks: "Thus the convention once again upheld the power of the state over the church." Cf. Decorme, I, 315.

[38] *Ibid.*, I, 435.

The First Establishment of the Faith In New France

Chapters XXI to XXV

A few years ago a writer, commenting on my *Frontenac and the Jesuits,* objected that in spite of my criticisms of Le Clercq, Hennepin and Le Tac, I appealed to their testimony.[1] Of course I appealed to the testimony of these writers, because I do not believe in that crude historical criticism, according to which documents are divided into good and bad documents, and thereafter a good document is accepted *in toto,* while a bad one is wholly rejected—as though there could be no true statements in a bad document, and as though when one has established the truth of some particular statement, one must reject it because it is found in the midst of patently false assertions. As instances of my appeal, he gives first Le Clercq's *Nouvelle Relation de la Gaspésie,* which I never criticized as unreliable, but quite the opposite. His second reference is to Hennepin's *New Discovery,* whose testimony I accepted in this case because it is supported by independent evidence, and I made it a point to say that this was my reason for accepting it. His third instance, I did not find, for the reference is to a page of the bibliography where there is not a word about any of the three people whom he mentions.

Elsewhere, the same writer says that Father Le Clercq knows that the first law of history is seeking the truth, as the preface of the *First Establishment* makes plain: "As truth is the soul and proper essence of history, this has no need of being supported and authorized by aught else." I had said that "it would be difficult to find in historical literature works teeming with more fabrications than"[2] the works of Le Clercq, Hennepin and Le Tac. On this he remarks: "Such a sweeping statement cannot be taken as a serious criticism."[3]

By way of suggesting how this "sweeping statement" could be supported by detailed evidence, I propose in the present article to examine chapters 21 to 25 of the *First Establishment of the Faith in New France,* and to show that neither Father Zénobe Membré nor Father Anastasius Douay are the authors of what is paraded under their names in this work. Everything attributed to Father Membré in these chapters is actually taken from the relation officielle; and what is said to be the relation of Father Douay is simply some vague recollections about the voyage, plus a few items taken from the "relation made by N. on the memoirs of M. Cavelier, brother of M. de la Salle, who accompanied him on this voyage." The main point of what follows is not to question the veracity or the personal integrity of Le Clercq himself, but to show that the *Premier Etablissement* which bears his name has been tampered with, and is so full of "fabrications" and anomalies that Le Clercq's authorship of the work as *published* is extremely doubtful.

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[1] "Ce qui n'empechera pas le P. Delanglez d'en appeler au témoignage de ces écrivains pour étayer ses thèses." A. Godbout in *Culture,* 2 (1941): 103.

[2] *Frontenac and the Jesuits,* Chicago, 1939, 260.

[3] A. Godbout, *Centenaire de l'Histoire du Canada de François-Xavier Garneau,* Montreal, 1945, 282.

Ganong, the editor and translator of the *Nouvelle Relation de la Gaspésie,* wrote as follows:

> Moreover, as is well known, the *Premier Etablissement* does not contain mention of certain matters, viz. an account of the Gaspesian mission after 1681, which are said in the *Nouvelle Relation* to be there. All of the facts taken together, including the point as to the proof-reading mentioned in a preceding page,[4] appear to be in harmony with the probability that Father Le Clercq prepared himself the manuscript of both books, but that he entrusted the *Premier Etablissement* to some other who, omitting a part of our author's material in order to make room for his own, inserted such matter as he wished in condemnation of the Jesuits, who are mentioned only with respect in the *Nouvelle Relation.*[5]

Precisely what Le Clercq did and what his motives were, are matters of conjecture, but it is certainly strange to find in two books published at the same time such a difference in tone. The privilege, the registration and the "achevé d'imprimer" of the *Nouvelle Relation* and of the first volume of the *Premier Etablissement* are all given the same date. At the end of this first volume, in the last chapter of the book, there is a vicious attack against the *Jesuit Relations,* clearly indicating that someone else had a hand in the making of the book, for, as Ganong just said, the Jesuits are mentioned only with respect in the *Nouvelle Relation.*

The printing of the second volume is said to have been completed on July 26, 1691. Since both books were written at the same time, why should there be an interval of three months between the publication of the first and second volume of the *Premier Etablisse-*

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[4] W. F. Ganong, transl. and ed., *New Relation of Gapesia,* Toronto, 191, 19.

[5] *Ibid.,* 21.

ment? Perhaps the author of the second volume needed some time to write the adventures of La Salle, and also the Monseignat relation had not yet reached Paris. In 1684, there had been some thought of writing a book on La Salle,[6] but Hennepin had forestalled it by palming off as his own Bernou's *Relation des descouvertes.* Again, what is the purpose of including in the *Establishment of the Faith in New France* such irrelevant materials as the letters patent authorizing La Salle to discover the western sea?

In his *Nouvelle Relation de la Gaspésie*, speaking of the church of St. Peter at Percé Island, Le Clercq says that he will treat at length of the dedication of this church "in the book I wrote on the *First Establishment of the Faith in New France*, which is sold at the same bookseller."[7] Yet, notes Ganong, "there is unfortunately no reference to this matter in that book." At the end of the *Nouvelle Relation,* he says: "I am omitting here the circumstances of this second mission [Percée in 1681] of which I shall speak in the *First Establishment of the Faith in New France*."[8] Again, as said before, there is no mention of this mission in the book.

This leads to a further inquiry. When Le Clercq saw the book in print, he must have noticed these omissions. Did he protest? We do not know. Those who wrote the *First Establishment* may well have told him that they had the accounts of Father Membré and of Father Douay; but there are contradictions which cannot be reconciled with what we know of Le Clercq's career as a missionary. For instance, he is made to say that Father Exupère was missionary at Percée from 1673 to 1683. This Father as well as Father Hilarion Guesnin were there until 1675, when Le Clercq himself succeeded them. "It is then scarcely possible that he should have ascribed his own labors from 1675 to 1683 to another person."[9]

We shall now examine the five chapters in question, and specifically chapters 22 and 23 which purport to contain Membré's relation, as well as chapter 25, which is supposedly Douay's account of the last two voyages of La Salle, and the trek across the continent after the latter's death.

Chapter 21 begins with various missions in New France, but the author soon passes to something more congenial: "I shall hereafter limit myself to laying before the public the great discoveries made by order of the king, under the command of M. de Frontenac and the direction of M. de la Salle, as being those which promised the greatest fruit for the establishment of the faith, if in the course of time they are resumed and supported as they deserve." He then goes on to say that in 1677, La Salle believed that great progress could be made by ascertaining whether or not the Mississippi emptied into the Vermilion Sea. In 1677, La Salle knew full well that the Mississippi emptied into the Gulf of Mexico and not into the Vermilion Sea, for he had seen the map of Jolliet as well as his relation.

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[6] Bernou to Renaudot, February 1, 1684, BN, Mss. fr., n. a., 7497: 89.

[7] C. Le Clercq, *Nouvelle Relation de la Gaspesie,* Paris, 1691, 20.

[8] *Ibid.,* 572.

[9] J. G. Shea, transl. and ed., *First Establishment of the Faith in New France by Father Christian Le Clercq,* 2 vols., New York, 1881, 2: 80, note.—All the references in this article are to Shea's translation.

There follows the building of the *Griffon,* its sailing to Michilimackinac, the journey to the Miami, thence to Pimiteoui. Here they built Fort Crèvecoeur and Hennepin left for the Upper Mississippi. "I have hitherto given only a short abridgment of the Relation which Father Membré gives us of these first commencements of this enterprise." All that is found in this chapter is an abridgment of Hennepin's *Description of Louisiana,* which in turn is a plagiarism of Bernou's *Relation des descouvertes.*

The next chapter, the twenty-second, begins as follows:

> As I continue the account of a discovery in which Father Zénobe took a considerable part and was constantly present, and as we derive from his letters the chief information we can have about it, I think I shall please the reader better by giving here in his own words what that Father left in form of an abridged Relation, from which I retrench merely a number of adventures and remarks which are not essential.
>
> This good Father, who has been left with Father Maxime in Louisiana, will one day, if God spares his life, give it more in detail . . . I produce what he says here all the more confidently, as it corresponds with many fragments which we have of Sieur de la Salle's letters and the testimony of Frenchmen and Indians who accompanied them, and who witnessed the discovery.
>
> The following is, then, word for word what that good Religious has written about it.

Of course it may be said that Father Membré, as one of the members of the expedition, experienced all that is narrated, but between experiencing and writing the account put under his name there is a vast difference. As for the testimony of the Indians who were with La Salle, one wonders how Le Clercq, or whoever wrote this chapter, obtained it. On his own admission he did not know Algonquian,[10] and consequently could not have questioned the Indians. But, one may say, he could have got it indirectly either from an interpreter or from some Frenchman who knew the language. There is no evidence, however, that Indians or Frenchmen who were with La Salle communicated with Le Clercq between 1682 and 1687, when the latter went back to France. And even so, this would not support the above conjecture, for he himself says that he copied the relation in Quebec "a few years later," and we know that he did not go to Quebec after 1680, two years before the journey to the sea.

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[10] *Nouvelle Relation de la Gaspesie,* 29.

In the enumeration of the tribes of the Northwest, we are told that the Maskoutens and the Outagamys dwell on the bank of a river called Melleoki, while the Kikapous and the Ainoves "form two villages west of these last up the river Checagoumemant." This is rather peculiar, for the Mascoutens and the Foxes lived well inland, far from the Milwaukee River, and the Kickapoo and Iowa certainly did not live on the Checagoumemant, which is the name given to Chicago by La Salle.[11]

The account of the attack made by the Iroquois on La Salle's party includes the following details, supposedly "word for word" from Membré's relation. According to this, Membré was beside Tonti when the soldier was stabbed, while the latter wrote: "On my way [to the Illinois] I met Fathers de la Ribourde and Zénobe Membré, who were coming to look after me."[12] And La Salle, who had the story from Tonti, says: "One league from the village, he [Tonti] met Father Zénobe Membré who ... ran to the spot where the fighting was taking place to help him in all that depended on his ministry."[13] That Membré was deputed to the Iroquois, that he found out they were hungry, and that the Illinois gave them food, is found nowhere in Tonti, either in the first or in the second relation, nor for that matter is it found in the letter of La Salle. Yet it would seem that such a change in the attitude of the Indians would have been mentioned by La Salle or Tonti.

According to the *Premier Etablissement,* Membré is made to say: "I went to look for the Father [de la Ribourde], seeing that he did not return ... The next morning at daybreak we returned to the same side where we were the day before, making all possible search." Tonti, however, has a different story: he and one of his men went to look for the missionary; and when he reported his vain search to Father Membré, the latter was "greatly grieved."[14] As for Membré making shoes for himself and his companions, it is quite clear that each one made his own, for Tonti rebuked one of his men because he delayed finishing them.[15]

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[11] In his letter of *post* September 29, 1680, La Salle wrote: "Il en faut un [establishement] au fond du lac des Islinois, ou la navigation finit au lieu mesme nommé Checagoumeman." Margry (2: 82) has Checagou.

[12] L. P. Kellogg, ed., *Early Narratives of the Northwest 1634–1699,* New York, 1917, 292. In his memoir of 1684, Tonty had written: "Je trouvay en chemin le R. P. Zénoble, lequel venait me chercher, espérant trouver en moy quelque sentiment de vie et me donner toutes les assistances spirituelles." Margry, 1: 587.

[13] La Salle's letter of the autumn, 1681, Margry, 2: 123.

The adventures of La Salle are told next. Why the Canadians should be blamed for the wreck of the *Griffon,* of the *Saint-Pierre,* and for the loss of La Salle's canoes in the rapids between Montreal and Fort Frontenac is not quite clear. Or rather, it is evident that whoever wrote this "word for word" account, echoed what La Salle had said and blamed the Canadians for every untoward accident that befell him. "As I remark nothing of importance in the new preparations that had to be made for this second enterprise, nor in the voyage from Michilimackinac to Fort Frontenac, and from Fort Frontenac to the Miami, I shall here omit what Father Zénobe says concerning it in his Relation so as not to occupy the reader uselessly." The author then tells us that La Salle on his way to the Miami, went by Niagara Falls, and that a canoe was carried away by the current; but, he adds, "the men and the goods were saved." We know, however, that La Salle went to the Miami by way of Lake Simcoe, thus avoiding the falls.[16]

"At this place we now proceed to resume word for word what is most essential in the continuation of Father Zénobe, which seems even to be drawn from the memoirs of Sieur de la Salle who accompanied him." In another article, I have shown that most of what is in Le Clercq is nothing else than the so-called relation officielle of La Salle's voyage to the sea.[17] This relation officielle was made in Paris sometime in 1683, that is, after the letters of Father Membré, June 3, 1682, and of Tonti, July 23, 1682, arrived there. I have also shown that 20% of this relation officielle was taken from the first letter, 60% from the second, and 20% from neither. It should be quite clear that since Father Membré did not write the relation officielle, he cannot have written what is in Le Clercq. We shall now proceed with the "word for word" account of Membré.

"On December 21, I embarked with Sieur de Tonti and a part of our people on Lake Dauphin [Illinois] to go toward the Rivière Divine, called Checagou by the Indians." The "Rivière Divine" was the Des Plaines-Illinois river, and was not called Checagou. The Chicago River was quite distinct from the other two, as the author shows in the next paragraph: "there is a portage to be made to enter the Illinois River"; that is to say, they entered the Chicago River and portaged to the Rivière Divine. They descended the Illinois River to "where Fort Crèvecoeur stands. We found it in good condition; Sieur de la Salle left his orders there." Fort Crèvecoeur had long since been abandoned. The relation officielle simply says that Fort Crèvecoeur *stood* there.[18] What orders La Salle left at Fort Crèvecoeur is not said. The Indians of the great Illinois village cannot have spent the winter on Lake Pimiteoui, for if these Indians had been there, they could not have failed seeing the French. The relation officielle simply says: "the Indians spent the winter elsewhere." Every time some new detail is added, we can be quite sure that the author will get himself involved in some contradiction.

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[14] Kellogg, *Early Narratives of the Northwest,* 294. Cf. the version in Margry, 1: 588 f.

[15] Margry, 1: 591.

[16] La Salle's letter of the autumn, 1681, Margry, 2: 185.

[17] "La Salle's Expedition of 1682," MID-AMERICA, 22 (1940): 18 ff.

They departed from the mouth of the Illinois on February 13, and six leagues below this point they found the River of the Osages, *i.e.,* the Missouri. Here Le Clercq has a digression on the Sea of the West,[19] and afterwards comes back to the muddy waters of the Missouri. This last detail is found not in Membré, but in one of La Salle's letters.[20] On arriving at the Arkansas, they were invited to the village, but, according to the relation officielle, "not deeming it advisable to allow his men to scatter, Sieur de la Salle told them that his men were unwilling to be separate from one another."[21] This is omitted in Le Clercq; according to his account, the most important chief asked them to go to the village "to which we readily consented."

At this point the relation officielle has the following: "The Ohio River, which has its sources in the Iroquois country, empties into the Mississippi opposite this village." At this date, 1683, Tonti had not yet identified the Wabash with the Ohio, and there is no evidence that Membré ever did. On the map which accompanies the *First Establishment,* the Ohio is marked as a tributary of the Wabash. This came from a better knowledge of the waterways of the Mississippi Valley when Le Clercq's book was compiled; but in the first months of 1683, the people who wrote the relation officielle were puzzled by what they read in the letters of La Salle. Moreover, there was then in Paris a map made by M. de Belmont, who seems to have thought that the Ohio really emptied into the Mississippi at the Arkansas,[22] and all the maps and globes made by Coronelli, which were based on the relation officielle, show the Ohio emptying at this place.

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[18] "Oú estoit scitué le fort de Crèvecoeur," *loc. cit.,* 28.

[19] "A Mirage: the Sea of the West," *Revue d'Histoire de l'Amérique francaise,* 1 (1947): 366 ff.

[20] La Salle's letter of *post* March, 1683, Margry, 2: 180.

[21] MID-AMERICA, 22 (1940): 30.

When the time came to take possession of Louisiana, we are told, "you can talk much to Indians by signs, and those with us managed to make themselves a little understood in their language. I took occasion to explain something of the truth of a God and the mysteries of our redemption, of which they saw the insignia." Considering that the Quapaw were of Siouan stock, and spoke a language which none of the party understood, this sermon seems to have been in vain. At the Taensa: "I made them understand all I wished about our mysteries." Even if the interpreters knew a little Illinois, the Taensa language belonged to a subdivision of the Muskhogean group, and he could scarcely have made them understand "all he wished." Next he mentions the thirty-four and forty villages, "the names of all of which were given us." These figures are taken from Tonti,[23] but neither he nor Membré gives the names of the villages.

From here on, there is little in the relation officielle which is taken from Membré's letter. Most of what follows is taken from Tonti's interlarded with bits of Bernou's. Among the Natchez, "Sieur de la Salle, whose very air, engaging manners, and skillful mind, command alike love and respect, so impressed the heart of these tribes that they did not know how to treat us well enough." Here too, La Salle is supposed to have possession of the country, although there is nothing about this in the other sources. They left the Natchez on "Easter Sunday, March 29, after having celebrated the divine mysteries with the French and fulfilled the duties of good Christians. For our Indians, though the most advanced and best instructed, were not yet capable." There is nothing about this in the relation officielle, and Membré in his letter does not even mention the Natchez. On the other hand, Membré's letter speaks of the Huma,[24] but since there is nothing about this tribe in the relation officielle, it is not mentioned in the *First Establishment.*

We now come to a very puzzling passage. After leaving the

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[22] Tronson to Belmont, July 2, 1682, in Margry, 2: 276.

[23] Tonti's letter of July 22, 1682, in Habig, 200.

[24] Margry, 2: 210. Cf. also Margry, 1: 604.

Koroa, Tonti says: "We missed ten nations, having taken one channel for another; this channel forms an island about 40 leagues long."[25] In the relation of 1684, at the Arkansas, he says, "we took the right of the river, and so missed the Chickasaw, because of an island which is nearly eighty leagues long,"[26] and farther down, that there is "a channel leading to the sea which is fifty leagues away." It may be that they took the west branch of the Mississippi, that is, what is today the lower course of the Arkansas River; this seems to be confirmed by the map of Franquelin of 1684. This is Big Island, but this island is not eighty, nor even forty leagues long. The author of the *First Establishment,* however, did not know this detail, and he proceeded to embroider on the relation officielle:

> About six leagues below [the Natchez] the river divides itself into two arms or channels, forming a great island, which must be more than sixty leagues long. We followed the channel on the right, although we had intended to take the other, but passed it in a great fog without seeing it. We had a guide with us, who pointed it out by signs; but the canoe in which he was being behind, those who steered it neglected what this Indian told them and endeavored to overtake us, for we were considerably ahead. We were assured that, in that other channel, ten different nations are encountered, which are all numerous and very good people.

It was all very well for Tonti to make a mistake, but Le Clercq published it and so drew upon himself the wrath of Iberville. Both in the letter which he wrote to the minister from La Rochelle, and in the log of the *Badine,* he took the Recollect to task. "He speaks of many things which are false, according to the journal of sieur Joutel, which you had the honor of giving me."[27] And elsewhere: "I cannot believe that he was so unfortunate as to dare to hoodwink the whole of France, although I knew well that he had lied in many parts of his relation, considering what he wrote about Canada and Hudson Bay, where he lied impudently."[28] Later Iberville compares the distance from the Arkansas to the sea and finds a difference of seventy three leagues and a half:[29] "He is a liar who has disguised everything."[30] Le Clercq, however, is not to blame, but the man or men who edited his work; and in 1699, Iberville could not know that Membré did not write the account credited to him. It is useless to say that all the members of the expedition were deceived or that they were misinformed by one of their Indian guides. From the Koroa on, they had no guides, and even if they had had one, it is certainly strange that Membré who understood all he wished at the Taensa, suddenly had to talk by signs and forgot his gift of tongues.

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[25] Tonti's letter of July 22, 1682, Habig, 221.
[26] Margry, 1: 603, 600.
[27] Iberville to the minister, July 29, 1699, Margry, 4: 120.
[28] Journal of the *Badine, ibid.,* 168.
[29] *Ibid.,* 180.
[30] *Ibid.,* 182.

Until it comes to describe the return of the expedition, the *Premier Etablissement* follows quite closely the relation officielle. With regard to the episode of eating human flesh, Nicolas de la Salle says:

> The day after, having made four leagues, we found a canoe with three Indians who crossed over to the right bank. The men fled, and we found in the canoe smoked meat of a crocodile and another piece of meat. We ate it all, and afterwards recognized from the bones, that it was the side of a man. The meat is much better than that of the crocodile. We left an awl in the canoe as payment.[31]

It would have been impolitic to say that they had eaten it all, so Le Clercq wrote: "Soon after, it was remarked that it was human flesh, so we left the rest to our Indians. It was very good and delicate."

At the end of the account of the attack on the Quinipissa, Le Clercq says: "Our people wished to go and burn the village of these traitors, but Sieur de la Salle prudently wished only to make himself formidable to this nation without exasperating it, in order to manage their minds in time of need." Tonti gives us quite a different story: it was La Salle who wished to chastize the Quinipissa, and he only desisted when he found out that he had not enough ammunition.[32] "He [Tonti] had left Sieur Dautray and Sieur Cochois among the Miami, and other people among the Illinois, with two hundred new cabins of Indians, who were going to re-people that nation." Tonti himself says that on his way up the Mississippi, he met a band of Tamaroa, Kaskaskias and Missouri, who asked him whether he had seen a canoe with four Iroquois. "But when we told them that it was far away, they turned back and returned with us to their village, where there are about 200 cabins."[33]

From this point until the end of chapter 24, we have a description of the country. We must observe, however, that the author speaks in general, and takes at random whatever information is found in Membré, La Salle and Jolliet. For instance, who had assured him that beyond the flood line of the Mississippi, there are "vast fields of excellent land skirted in spots by very charming hills, lofty woods, groves through which one might ride on horseback, so clear and unobstructed are the paths"? Who told him that "there are beaver, otters, martens, wild-cats, till a hundred leagues below the Tamarois, especially on the Missouri, on the Wabash, on the Chepoussea, which is opposite it, and on all the smaller rivers in this space"? To know all this, he must have gone up the Missouri, up the Wabash, up the Chepoussea, whereas it is certain that no one had gone up these rivers at this time, and no Indian had mentioned them.

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[31] This pasage is not in Margry, but in a manuscript of the relation, in the third of four similarly bound volumes bearing the following inscription on the front cover: "A la Substitution du Valdec proche Soleure en Suisse" (E. E. Ayer Collection of the Newberry Library, Chicago), 250 f.

[32] Margry, 1: 608.

[33] Tonti's letter of July 22, 1682, Habig, 228.

The descriptions of the Michybichy and of the opposum are taken from one of La Salle's letters,[34] and that of the buffalo is in the *Jesuit Relations*.[35] "The Indians assured us that inland, toward the west, there are animals on which men ride, and which carry heavy loads; they described them as horses, and showed us two feet which are actually hoofs of horses." La Salle[36] and Tonti[37] speak of horses, and Jolliet described "those animals used by western Indians, on which they ride as we do horses."[38] The next passage is also from Jolliet: "The cottonwood trees are large; of these the Indians dig out canoes forty or fifty feet long, and have sometimes fleets of a hundred and fifty at the foot of the village." This is found on Jolliet's map and in the letter of Dablon of August 1, 1674.[39]

The extent of the prairies is also taken from Jolliet as well as the "grenadiers." Speaking of some fruit, La Salle wrote: "It is perhaps what Jolliet called 'grenades,' athough they are nowhere to be found."[40] The *First Establishment*: "Winter is little known except by the rains." Jolliet: "Winter is only known by the rains." Le Clercq: "They raise three or four crops of corn a year." Jolliet: "Most of them reap corn three times a year."[41] Finally, "no one would dare to pass between the chief and the cane-torch which burns in his cabin, and is carried before him when he goes out; all make a circuit around it with some ceremony." Membré has: "One does not pass between them and the torch which burns in their house."[42]

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[34] La Salle's letter of *post* March, 1683, Margry, 2: 182 f.

[35] JR, 45: 194 f.

[36] La Salle's letter of *post* March, 1683, Margry, 2: 202.

[37] Margry, 1: 595.

[38] "The 1674 Account of the Discovery of the Mississippi," MID-AMERICA, 26 (1944): 324. Cf. also "The Jolliet Lost Map of the Mississippi," 28 (1946): 106 ff.

[39] "The 1674 Account," *loc. cit.*, 318.

[40] La Salle's letter of *post* March, 1683, Margry, 2: 178.

[41] "The 1674 Account," *loc. cit.*, 319.

They do not know fire-arms, but only use stone-knives and hatchets, "this is quite contrary to what had been told us, where we were assured that by trade with the Spaniards, who were only twenty-five or thirty leagues off, they had axes, guns and all commodities which are found in Europe." The author of all this had not been told anything of the kind, but had read on Jolliet's map the following inscription: "I have seen a village which was only five days' journey from a nation which trades with California; if I had arrived two days earlier, I could have talked with those who had brought four hatchets as presents."[43] The guns are mentioned in Thévenot's account[44] and there is on the Manitoumie map an inscription to that effect.[45] They had, however, found nations who had bracelets of real pearl, "but they pierce them by fire and thus spoil them." In Tonti's relation of 1684, we read that an Indian "made me a present of these pearls, which are spoiled, because they pierce them with a hot iron."[46]

After mentioning that he did his best to teach the "principal truths of Christianity to the nations which I met," the author of all this continues: "The Illinois language served me a little about a hundred leagues further on the [Mississippi] river, and I made the rest understood by gestures and some terms in their dialect which I insensibly picked up." Until they reached the Quapaw, they did not meet anybody down the river; and the Quapaw were 600 miles down from the mouth of the Illinois River.

Some kind of explanation had to be given as to where the manuscript, which Membré supposedly wrote, was found. We are told that:

> I here give my readers all that is important in the relation which Father Zénobe addressed to Father Valentine, superior of the missions at Quebec, and which I copied on the spot some years after. This missionary did not at the time expect to go to France that same year, 1682, but Sieur de la Salle, having suddenly taken his resolutions, asked him [Membré] to consent to make the voyage [to France], until he could proceed thither in person, next year.

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[42] Membré's letter of June 3, 1682, Margry, 2: 209.

[43] "The Discovery of the Mississippi. Primary Sources," MID-AMERICA, 27 (1945): 228.

[44] *Voyages de Mr Thevenot*, Paris, 1681, 34.

[45] "The Jolliet Lost Map," MID-AMERICA, 28 (1946): 111 f.

[46] Margry, 1: 601.

This passage will not stand examination. First, Membré did not send anything except his letter of June 3, 1682; second, if Membré arrived in Quebec on the eve of the departure of the ships for France, he had no time to write any account of his travels; third, Le Clercq could not have copied this account in Quebec "some years later," for we know that he did not go there after 1679 or 1680.

What is found in Le Clercq is simply the relation officielle which was written in Paris in 1683. The document is now among Bernou's papers and among those of Renaudot's, and was utilized to write the *First Establishment of the Faith.* To it were added a few pages about the country taken from what was known about Louisiana at the time. We can disregard altogether the theory that Membré wrote both the relation officielle and what we read in Le Clercq, for there is no evidence that his achievements are in any way comparable with those of Bernou, the real author of the relation officielle. Once the latter was written, it was an easy matter to add a few pages from the literature on the subject.

"It was thus that M. de la Salle, whom we may justly call the Columbus of his age . . ." All of this is nothing else than the last paragraph of the relation officielle, with the "Columbus of his age" thrown in for good measure.[47] "His first design had been to find the passage to the South Sea [Pacific Ocean], which had been sought for so long a time; and although the river Colbert did not lead to it, yet this great man had so much talent and resolution that he hoped to find it, if it were possible, as he would have succeeded in doing had God spared his life." We have explained elsewhere that after the fiasco of 1669, La Salle never again tried to find a route to the Sea of the South;[48] all that he wanted was to found a few posts on the Mississippi and also to find the Chucagua of Garcilasco de la Vega.

The return of La Salle to France, the selection of spiritual laborers, the choosing of the soldiers and lay people who were to accompany the expedition are then briefly narrated. "All being ready, they set sail on July 24, 1684. A storm which came on a few days later obliged them to put in at Chef-de-Bois to repair one of their masts, broken by the gale." In his journal, Cavelier had written that there was only a "very moderate wind";[49] Joutel wrote that "the weather was not heavy,"[50] and elsewhere that the "weather was slightly heavy."[51] If the breaking of the bowsprit of the *Joly* had been due to a storm, there was no reason for suspecting foul play.

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[47] Cf. "La Salle Expedition of 1682," MID-AMERICA, 22 (1940): 35.

[48] "A Mirage: the Sea of the West," *Revue d'Histoire de l'Amérique francaise*, 1 (1947): 374 f.

[49] Margry, 2: 501.

[50] *Ibid.*, 3: 92.

On the way to Florida, the squadron reached the Isle aux Pins, "anchoring there a day to take in water." Joutel, however, wrote as follows:

> On December 3, we sighted the Isle aux Pins which is a small island near that of Cuba, where we cast anchor in a cove. We found various kinds of refreshments and pigs, the Spaniards having left some there which have now multiplied. I did not notice that we took in water in this island, as asserted by the author of a book printed since our return. It is the *Nouvel [Premier] Etablissement de la Foy dans la Nouvelle France,* in which the author claims that he took what he says from the memoirs of Father Anastasius who was with us. This would be difficult to prove, considering that the said Father has not written anything, at least on his way up with us. There are several falsehoods in this book, and I do not believe that Father Anastasius told them, for I have always recognized in him a very honest man and a good religious incapable of telling a falsehood. But as there are may be some exaggerations, I address myself to the author of the book.[52]

In the same paragraph, there is another correction. After anchoring at San Antonio, on the Island of Cuba, Le Clercq continued: "The beauty and allurements of the spot and its advantageous position induced them to stay and even to land. For some unknown reason the Spaniards had abandoned there several kinds of provisions, and among the rest some Spanish wine which they took." This is also repeated in the pseudo-Tonti;[53] Joutel noted in his journal:

> We filled a few barrels with water. Those who had been on land said that they had found one bottle in which there was some liquor or wine left. This is what caused the author of the *Establishment of the Faith* to say that they had found a quantity of refreshments, and that the Spaniards must have left them there. As though it could not have been left by some filibuster or other. But those who write on other people's reports are subject to be imposed upon and to make false relations.[54]

Without our knowledge of the geography of the Gulf, the next two paragraphs hardly make any sense. For instance, how did they know that they were forty or fifty leagues from the mouth of the river? They were exactly at the latitude mentioned by La Salle, namely, between 27° and 28°.[55] What does the next line mean: "the more so as the river, before entering the Gulf, coasts along the shore of the Gulf to the west"? If so, they should have met the mouth of the river where La Salle claimed it was; as a matter of fact the Mississippi flowed toward the southeast. How did the author of this faciful geography know that they had "passed Espiritu Santo Bay without recognizing it"? Neither La Salle nor anybody else for that matter had any idea as to the location of this bay.[56]

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[51] *Ibid.*, 2: 492.

[52] *Ibid.*, 3: 110, note. This note is taken from Delisle's copy.

[53] "Il ne fut trouvé au dit lieu que une bouteille ou flacon de verre renforcé ou la liqueur qui etoit dedans etoit corompue."—Remarques tirees du livre intitulé les dernieres decouvertes dans la merique septentrionnalle Mis au jour par Monsieur le chevalier de tonty . . . , Archives du Service Hydrographique (ASH), 115-9: no. 12.

[54] Joutel in Delisle's résumé, ASH, 115-9: no. 11. Cf. Margry, 3: 113.

At this place it is well to notice that the *Dernieres decouvertes* by the pseudo-Tonti speaks of various landmarks, which are also mentioned in the *Premier Etablissement de la Foy.* Le Clercq, or whoever wrote this, says that "the three vessels, at last in the middle of February, met at Espiritu Santo Bay, where there was an almost continual roadstead." Joutel drily remarks: "We did not even see this bay,"[57] for what that bay was is problematical, and it certainly did not have "an almost continual roadstead."

The maneuver of the *Aimable* was not interrupted by La Salle "to remedy it," but after they saw Indians coming to the shore, they palavered and finally dismissed them, "for nothing was done while they were there."[58] Instead of going to the *Aimable,* La Salle went to the village and on his return saw the damage done to the ship. The next episode is the wounding of Morenger; "but after all it was their fault, and it was against what had been recommended to them:—mistrust and vigilance."[59]

"One day Father Zénobe having gone out in a boat, it was dashed to pieces against the vessel by a sudden gust of wind." All got quickly on board, and Membré would have drowned but for a sailor who threw him a rope. "This is what made the author of whom I have spoken [Le Clercq] say that through his zeal, the said Father nearly drowned when the launch was dashed to pieces. He is mistaken in this, for the launch was not broken; it was found six months later in a cove of the said bay."[60]

"On the 21st [of April], Easter Eve, Sieur de la Salle came to the camp at the sea, where the next day and the three following that great festival was celebrated with all possible solemnity, each one receiving his Creator." La Salle returned to the fort shortly after his departure; having heard gunfire, he came back to investigate. If he had returned for Easter, Joutel, whose friend Le Gros was bitten by a rattle-snake on Easter Sunday, would certainly have mentioned the presence of La Salle. Instead the explorer returned to the camp in July.[61]

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[55] Tronson to Belmont, April 15, 1685, Margry, 2: 355; Journal of Minet, *ibid.,* 3: 592; Minet's map in BSH, C 4044-4; Remarques tirees du livre intitulé, ASH, 115-9: no. 12.

[56] *El Rio del Espiritu Santo,* New York, 1945, 1 ff.

[57] Remarques tirees du livre intitulé, ASH, 115-9: no. 12.

[58] Margry, 3: 150.

[59] *Ibid.,* 161.

[60] *Ibid.,* 156.

"The fort, which was built in a very advantageous position, was soon in a state of defense, furnished with twelve pieces of cannon and a magazine under ground for fear of fire . . . At the house they raised all kinds of domestic animals, cows, hogs, and poultry, which multiplied greatly." All of which is purely imaginary, says Joutel, they had a few pigs, one cock and one hen, "which have since produced a few more." With regard to the goats, the female being sterile, both were killed during the illness of Jean Cavelier; as for the fort, it consists "of a house with eight pieces of cannon; unfortunatey, there were no cannon balls."[62] Joutel added in the Delisle résumé:

> With regard to domestic animals of all kinds spoken of by the author of the [*First*] *Establishment of the Faith in New France,* which treats of the voyages of M. de la Salle, he writes that he extracted it from the memoirs of Father Anastasius with whom I came back from the said country. I have not noticed that he wrote a single line during our return journey; he even expected me to hand over to him a copy of what I had written. Besides, I do not believe that he [Anastasius] wished to put down falsehoods, some of which are self-contradictory; it is not necessary to have gone to the said country to see it. All the animals about which he speaks consisted of pigs, one rooster, one hen and two goats. He did not speak the truth when he said that the fort was soon built and put in a state of defense, for there was only the house with eight pieces of cannon, two in each corner. As for the ten families, which he said were there, it is also false, for there was only one married man.[63]

The most tragic part of all took place in October, when "Sieur de la Salle seeing himself constantly insulted by the savages, and wishing, moreover, to have some of their canoes by force or consent, as he could not do without them, resolved to make open war on them in order to bring them to an advantageous peace." This was tragic because of the insecurity of those who had to remain at the fort. Instead of making friends with the Indians, La Salle, who had never forgiven the wounding of Morenger, had given orders to Joutel to fire upon them.[64] When, later on, he wished to correct his mistake, it was too late. All of which is quite different from what Le Clercq said: "The execution done among the Indians had rendered the little colony somewhat more secure."

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[61] *Ibid.*, 165, 167, 171.

[62] *Ibid.*, 191.

[63] Joutel in Delisle's résumé, ASH, 115-9: no. 11. This is partly printed in Margry, 3: 190, note.

Another tragedy was the murder of the pilot and his men. After this La Salle resolved to go and seek the mouth of the Mississippi by land. After his return, "toward the end of March,"[65] he described his adventures. La Salle "had always flattered himself that there must be an arm of the river emptying into [Matagorda] bay; but in this he was mistaken."[66] The clear result of his journey is put down by Joutel: "He had not found his river."[67] But Le Clercq, who in this particular follows the lead of the so-called journal of Cavelier,[68] blandy wrote: "At last, on February 13, 1686, Sieur de la Salle thought that he had found the river; he fortified himself there, left a part of his men, and with nine others continued his expedition." What is left unexplained is why La Salle should continue to look for the Mississippi after he had supposedly found it.

We now come to chapter 25, which contains the account of Father Anastasius Douay. The latter left Saumur for Paris on October 20, 1688,[69] taking with him Boisrondet and an Indian and arriving there some six weeks ahead of Cavelier. As he was no longer under secrecy, Father Douay talked of what had happened during the journey. He was, however, coming to Paris empty handed, for as Joutel said he had not written a single line. Armed with this oral information and later with the "relation made by N. on the memoirs of M. Cavelier, brother of M. de la Salle, who accompanied him on this voyage,"[70] it was not difficult to fill in a few pages of common places, embroidering and expanding as the author of the *First Establishment* went along. Unfortunately for him, the journal of Joutel was extant, and throughout he objected to the fanciful narrative as found in Le Clercq.

Let it not be said that it is the word of Joutel against that of Father Anastasius. For, as the former maintains, many of the statements are self contradictory, and moreover, for what pertains to the death of La Salle, it is not Joutel, but Father Douay who reported what actually happened. It is ridiculous to claim that because the latter twice refers to his "capuce [cowl]" during the first voyage to the Cenis, Douay wrote the whole account.[71] As though the writer who invented so many fanciful details would stop at such trivia. On the other hand, Father Douay may well have remembered the two incidents, for as we have said above, he had some recollections of the journey.

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[64] "Et nous navons eu aucune relation avec eux ayant toujours tiré sur eux lorsquils ont aproché dudit poste aincy que m^r de la salle men avoit donné ordre." Remarques tirees du livre intitulé, ASH, 115-9: no. 12.

[65] Margry, 3: 218.

[66] *Ibid.*, 221.

[67] *Ibid.*, 220.

[68] *The Journal of Jean Cavelier*, Chicago, 1938, 64.

[69] Margry, 3: 523.

[70] Cf. "The Authorship of the Journal of Jean Cavelier," MID-AMERICA, 25 (1943): 220 f.

"Although the details of his [Douay] remarks was lost in his many wrecks, the following is an abridgment of what he could gather from them, with which, perhaps, the reader will be better pleased than if I gave it in my own style." There is absolutely no difference between the style of the preceding chapter and the style of what Father Anastasius says here, any more than there is between the supposed narrative of Membré and the style of the rest of the narrative of La Salle's adventures.

We should remark here that although Joutel did not take part in the first expedition to the Cenis, he followed exactly the same route in the last voyage of La Salle; this explains why the names of tribes and rivers are the same in both. Except for the illness of La Salle and Morenger, which is only found in the "journal" of Cavelier,[72] most of what is said about the first voyage to the Cenis is simply fine writing.

"On the third day we perceived in some of the finest plains in the world a number of people, some on foot, others on horseback, booted and spurred, and seated on saddles." They engaged in a lengthy conversation, and Joutel remarked "as though we had the gift of tongues." With regard to the cibola, La Salle's lieutenant commented "he must have read this description in a treatise of geography." Elsewhere Anastasius is made to say: "Sieur Cavelier and I endeavored here, as we had done elsewhere, to give some first knowledge of the true God." Said Joutel, "as though our Recollect Father had no trouble in making himself understood." The same must be said of La Salle's speech to the Indians. He told them "that the chief of the French was the greatest chief in the world, as high as the sun, and as far above the Spaniard as the sun is above the earth. On his recounting the victories of our monarch they burst into exclamations, putting their hand on their mouth as a mark of astonishment." As for the Spaniards, who played such a great part in this relation, they were at least 200 leagues away.[73]

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[71] A. Godbout, *Centenaire de l'Histoire du Canada de François-Xavier Garneau*, 286.

[72] *The Journal of Jean Cavelier*, 72.

After four men had deserted, "Sieur de la Salle and his nephew, Sieur de Morenger, were attacked with a violent fever, which brought them to extremity. Their illness was long, and obliged us to make a very long stay at this place; for when the fever, after frequent attacks, left them at last it required time to restore them." This, as we have said, is found in Cavelier's journal; but while Joutel denies that La Salle was ill, he says that "it is quite true that Sieur de Morenger found himself incommodated, but this did not last long."[74]

Le Clercq tells us that La Salle returned to the camp on October 17, 1686, whereas he was back in August of that year. The word "Aout" is in the margin of Joutel's autograph which Delisle copied, and August is the only possible date if the text of Joutel—as in Margry—is to make sense. La Salle intended to leave for his second journey to the Cenis as soon as his men were rested, "but the heat being bothersome, the said sieur [La Salle] thought it better to let it pass, after which time one could leave and go straight back to the village [Cenis] where horses and grain were found."[75] La Salle was making ready to leave, when a hernia delayed him for nearly three months.[76] Hence, he did not remain "two and a half months at St. Louis Bay," but five full months.

> We left on January 12, 1687; M. de la Salle took me along, and left Sieur Barbier as governor of the fort. With the latter were Sieur de Chefdeville, two Recollects, Fathers Zénobe and Maxime, the marquis de la Sablonnière, a surgeon, and others numbering twenty in all, including seven girls and women. Barbier was the only one who was married, although the author about whom I have spoken [Le Clercq] says that there were ten families. All of which is false, as what he wrote about those Indian families which are said to be sociable.
>
> He also mentioned a quantity of nations whom he named and whom he said he saw in the voyage which he made with M. de la Salle. These names are invented, for I have never heard anyone speak about them. It is the same as when he said that on his return he visited the bay and all the rivers which fell into it.
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> He said that he saw a number of Indians booted and spurred. All they have is a poor skin on the back of their horses, and we saw only a few saddle bows among the Cenis. This is then false, as well as the number of nations which he said he saw; for M. de la Salle makes mention of only four kinds of villages in his voyage, and among these only the Cenis must

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[73] Remarques tirees du livre intitulé, ASH, 115-9: no. 12, *passim.*
[74] Remarques tirees du livre intitulé, *ibid.*
[75] Margry, 3: 250.
[76] *Ibid.*, 254.

be said to be a village, all the others are wanderers who hunt and fish, and do not sow Indian corn. Elsewhere, he says that M. de la Salle taught these nations; he must have had the gift of tongues.[77]

They were seventeen in number on the last voyage of La Salle, and not twenty as said in Le Clercq. "The very first day we met an army of Bahamos going to war with the Erigoanna; Sieur de la Salle made an alliance with them." The "army" numbered fifteen, and as they came while La Salle was away, they were told to come back; they did so on the morrow, to the number of twenty.[78] The Bahamos were not met on the first day, but on the twenty-first of the month.[79] In his "journal" Cavelier says that they visited a village of Bracamo on the sixth of January.[80] "He wished also to treat with the Quinets, who fled at our approach; but having overtaken them by means of our horses, we treated them so kindly that they promised an inviolable peace." The tribe to which these Indians belonged is not given in Joutel. La Salle, who now knew better, was concerned with the safety of his fort on the Gulf; but these precautions, remarked Joutel, "should have been taken from the very beginning when we came to this country."[81]

"On the fourth day, three leagues further to the northeast, we came to the first rivière aux Cannes." This was the second, not the fourth day of the march.[82] We might just as well forget about the visit to the villages of the Quaras and the Anachorema; they met Indians on the way, but no names were given. "Five leagues farther we passed the Sablonnière, because it is surrounded by sandy soil, though all the rest is good land and vast prairies." The reason why this river was so called is because of an accident that happened to Sieur de la Sablonnière when La Salle went on an expedition toward the bay.[83] The Robec, the Maligne, and the Hiens were crossed, which is not surprising, for La Salle followed exactly the same route on his last voyage as he had done on the first one to the Cenis. As for the Tahara, the Tyakappan, these tribes do not exist.

We now come to the death of Morenger, Saget, Nika, and La Salle. First of all, let us notice that the whole voyage before the tragedy—more than two months—takes exactly six small pages, the same number of pages as it took to narrate the murders. After a fitting introduction, we are told that "Sieur de Morenger lingered for the space of two hours, during which he gave every mark of a death precious in the sight of God, pardoning his murderers, embracing them even, and making all the acts of sorrow and contrition, as they themselves assured us after they recovered from their great blindness."

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[77] Joutel in Delisle, ASH, 115-9: no. 11.
[78] Margry, 3: 266.
[79] *Ibid.*, 276.
[80] *The Journal of Jean Cavelier,* 76.
[81] Margry, 3: 265.
[82] *Ibid.*, 261.
[83] *Ibid.*, 279.

We shall now give the account of Larchevesque to Joutel. As will be seen, there is a vast difference between the two narratives, and there is no reason to suspect Larchevesque, who was in the plot.

> Liotot having taken a hatchet began with Morenger, to whom he gave several blows on the head—a few of them are enough to kill a man—he then went to Saget and to the poor Shawnee; so that in a short while he massacred the three of them without any of them having time to say a single word. Morenger sat up, for he was not dead yet, but was unable to say a single word. And they forced Sieur de Marle to finish Morenger off, although he was not in the plot. While the wretched surgeon [Liotot] executed his evil design, the others had their arms ready, just in case one of them tried to defend himself. So that he killed the three of them without their having time to say a single word. It is not therefore, as the author about whom I have spoken [Le Clercq] says, that Sieur de Morenger had remained alive for a time after he had been wounded, having pardoned to those who had treated him thus, as well as many other things. All of this is false.[84]

After the murder of Morenger, Saget and Nika, the assassins had to dispose of La Salle. On the way to the spot, Anastasius is made to say that the explorer "conversed with me only of matters of piety, grace and predestination." He was overcome with melancholy and his state of mind was far from being normal. "I roused him from his lethargy, nevertheless, and at the end of two leagues we found the bloody cravat of his lackey [Saget]." Having asked where his nephew was, they "answered with broken words, showing us where we would find the said sieur." Two men were in the grass; one of them fired and missed, whereas the second "lodged his ball in the head of M. de la Salle, who expired an hour after, on March 19, 1687." Anastasius exhorted him to die well, and La Salle grasping his hand "at every word I suggested to him and especially at that of pardoning his enemies . . . I did not wish to leave the spot, after he had expired, without having laid him out and buried him as well as I could, and I raised a cross over his grave."

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[84] Joutel's autograph in Delisle, ASH, 115-9: no. 13. Compare the version of Margry, 3: 328.

This then is what Anastasius is supposed to have done. Now let us see what he actually did. "The narrative of the Recollect [Anastasius] in Le Clercq remains then the unique account of the only eye-witness of the death of La Salle."[85] Rather, "the narrative of the Recollect in *Joutel* remains the unique account of the death of La Salle." For the narrative in Joutel and not the fiction in Le Clercq is the only authority in the matter; although he himself was not present, Anastasius told Joutel exactly what took place as soon as he could.

According to Joutel, both Douay and La Salle left for the place where the latter thought his nephew was, and seeing some eagles wheeling in the sky, La Salle judged that the men he sought could not be far off. He then fired his gun and neglected to reload. The assassins knew that he was coming, and two of them hid in the grass. La Salle asked Larchevesque where his nephew was, and was told that he was farther down the river.

> At the same time a shot rang out, fired by the said Duhaut, who was very near him, hidden in the grass. The shot struck the said sieur in the head, and he fell dead on the spot without saying a word, to the great astonishment of Father Anastasius who was nearby and thought that he was going to be shot too. He did not know what to do, that is, to advance or to flee, as he had told me since."

Duhaut, however, cried out that they did not wish him any harm, that he wanted to take revenge on Morenger, and other things to that effect. The assassins stripped La Salle, tearing off even his shirt; Liotot was particularly offensive. After they had thus stripped him, they dragged his body to the bushes, where they left him to the wolves and other beasts. Joutel then goes on to say:

> All of this is far from the charity which the said author [Le Clercq] says that Anastasius had toward him. According to this author, the latter buried La Salle and even planted a cross on his grave. All of which is false. He also said that he had found the cravat of the valet of the said sieur. But if that had been the case, the said sieur would have taken precautions, and would not have exposed himself the way he did. As for what Le Clercq alleged that Anastasius did not abandon the said sieur until he breathed his last, giving all the marks of a good Christian:—from the very mouth and from the very confession of Father Anastasius, La Salle did not say a single word.[86]

"We often heard [the assassins] say to one another that they must get rid of us." As a matter of fact, even before the return to the camp they "changed their mind and agreed not to murder anybody unles they should be provoked."[87] They wished, however, to pick up a quarrel with Joutel, but the latter was too wise to give them an opportunity.[88] Although Joutel and the younger Cavelier had occasion to put them to death, they were dissuaded from their designs by Jean Cavelier, "saying that they must leave revenge to God."[89]

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[85] *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques,* 43 (1937): 147.

[86] Joutel's autograph in Delisle, ASH, 115-9: no. 13. Cf. the version in Margry, 3: 330f, where all the comments are left out.

The shooting of Liotot and Duhaut took place on May 8, Ascension Day. They were not together on the eve of the feast, as Anastasius tells us, for Hiens arrived on the 8th, accompanied by Grolet and Ruter; and there was no question of exhorting them, "at which they seemed affected and resolved to confess; but this did not last." The man whose shirt was burnt was Duhaut, the murderer of La Salle; Liotot was executed after having gone to confession. As for Larchevesque, "the third author of the plot," he was hunting at the time, and Joutel warned him not to say anything.[90]

The Indians and the few surviving Frenchmen having left on a war party, morning and night prayers were said in common by Anastasius, Cavelier and their companions.

> We tried to make the Indians comprehend the greatness of Him who gave us life, who made wheat and other plants grow; but as we did not know their language, it was very difficult to make them understand. That is the reason why I am surprised to read that the author about whom I have spoken several times [Le Clercq] dare say that Anastasius preached and taught them catechism. This cannot be done unless one has spent several years among these Indians and one has learned their language.[91]

While the travelers were waiting for Grolet, they "took occasion to tell them that we came on behalf of God to insruct them in the truth and save their souls." This is also contradicted by Joutel:

> I am surprised that the author about whom I have previously spoken [Le Clercq] can say that Father Anastasius exhorted them and explained the mysteries of our religion to them. This can only be done by knowing their language perfectly, and I did not notice that the said Father ever took the trouble of writing a single word.[92]

With regard to the death of De Marle, he did not know how to swim and was not swallowed up in an "abyss"; the Indians took him out of the water immediately, and not a few hours later. "The

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[87] Margry, 3: 323.
[88] *Ibid.*, 324.
[89] *Ibid.*, 332.
[90] *Ibid.*, 3: 368–371.
[91] *Ibid.*, 375.
[92] *Ibid.*, 396, note.

Indian admired our ceremonies [burial of De Marle], from which we took occasion to give them several instructions during the week we remain in that place." They were now among the Caddo, and neither Joutel nor anybody else had any idea of what their language was. He simply said: "We tried to make them understand that we prayed to God for the dead, showing the heavens."[93]

What follows is the story of the trek to the Arkansas; their arrival there, their departure and the beginning of the ascent of the Mississippi are briefly narrated. En route, they "visited" the Chickasaw, twenty-five leagues from the Arkansas. We are told that they numbered at least four thousand warriors, and that the chiefs "offered to come and dwell on the Wabash to be nearer to us." This is in the "journal" of Cavelier.[94] They did not visit the Chickasaw,[95] but when Tonti found a band of these Indians on his way to the sea, he invited them to live in peace. "The man called Couture had mentioned this to us before our departure. The said Indian [guides] gave us to understand that the journey from the Mississippi to their villages was only two days."[96] The names of the tribes on the Missouri are simply guess work as well as the number of villages of each tribe. It would have been much better to report what the guide had said, namely, that on the Missouri and on its branches, there were many villages.

> About midway between the river Wabash and that of the Missouri is found Cape St. Anthony. It was to this place only, and not further that Sieur Jolliet descended in 1673; they were taken with their whole party, by the Monsoupelea. These Indians having told them that they would be killed if they went further, they turned back not having descended lower than thirty or forty leagues below the mouth of the Illinois River.

This is very interesting indeed. How does our author explain the fact that Jolliet only saw the Monsoupelea on his return from the Arkansas?[97] How does he explain that Anastasius never saw, never heard of this tribe about which he supposedly talks so glibly? And finally, how did these Indians speak to Jolliet, considering that Marquette did not understand one word of what they were telling the Frenchmen?[98]

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[93] *Ibid.*, 407.

[94] *The Journal of Jean Cavelier*, 124.

[95] "Depuis les acancea Jusques aux Illinois nous nen trouvasmes pas seulement une." Remarques tirees du livre intitulé, ASH, 115-9: no. 1.

[96] Margry, 3: 469.

[97] "Marquette's Autograph Map of the Mississippi River," MID-AMERICA, 27 (1945): 51.

[98] C. W. Alword, "An Unrecognized Father Marquette Letter," *The American Historical Review*, 25 (1920): 679.

> I had brought with me the printed book of this pretended discovery, and I remarked all along my route that there was not a word of truth in it. It is said that he went as far as the Arkansas, and that he was obliged to return for fear of being taken by the Spaniards; and yet the Arkansas assured us that they had not seen other Europeans before M. de la Salle.

The sweeping statement that there is not a word of truth in Thévenot's version of the voyage of 1673 is rather out of place coming from an author whose book teems with so many fabrications. We might ask how Father Anastasius, in the midst of the difficulties and hardships of the last seven months, had saved the "printed book"? How did he know that the Quapaw had not seen any Europeans before M. de la Salle? He may have inquired from Couture, but Joutel makes no mention of such an inquiry; to say nothing of the travelers having other worries besides questioning the Quapaw about a journey which had taken place fourteen years earlier. Moreover, when in 1700, Gravier descended the Mississippi, the Quapaw chief told the missionary that "he had danced the calumet" to Marquette in 1673.[99]

> It is said that they saw painted monsters that the boldest men would have difficulty to look at, and that there was something supernatural about them. This frightful monster is a horse painted on a rock with matachia and some other wild beasts made by the Indians. It is said that they cannot be reached, yet I touched them without any difficulty.

Thévenot does not say that the "boldest men would have difficulty in looking at" the monsters, but that the "boldest Indian dare not look upon them."[100] It was the Indians who saw "something supernatural" about the petroglyphs, for Joutel tells us that the guides "offered tobacco, called him brother or comrade, and said that they would die if they did not do that."[101]

"The truth is that the Miami, pursued by the Metchigamea, having been drowned in the river, the Indians ever since that time present tobacco to these grotesque figures whenever they pass, in order to appease the manitou." The Indians were impressed then, which confirmed what Joutel had written. This, however, was not the only time when they made sacrifices and peace offerings, for they had done this at the mouth of the Ohio[102] and repeated the performance at the mouth of the Missouri. As for the tale about Miami and Metchigamea, our author is very careful not to say when this pursuit is supposed to have taken place.

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[99] JR, 65: 120.
[100] *Voyages de Mr Thevenot*, 29.
[101] Margry, 3: 471.
[102] *Ibid.*, 470.

> I would be loath to believe that Sieur Jolliet vouched for the printed account of that discovery, which is not, in fact, under his name, and which was not published till after the discovery made by Sieur de la Salle. It would be easy to show that it was printed on false memoirs, which the author, who had never been on the spot, might have followed in good faith.

We shall refresh the memory of the narrator: Thévenot's book was published in 1681, La Salle did not go down to the Gulf until 1682, and his voyage was not known in France until 1683. It is quite true that the author of the account in Thévenot had never been on the spot, but Le Clercq did not know this;[103] and with regard to false memoirs the evidence that Jolliet made the voyage of 1673, that he descended the Mississippi down to the Arkansas, is of an incomparably higher order than the evidence for the so-called Anastasius account.

The next few pages are concerned with the arrival at Fort St. Louis, with the false start for Lake Michigan, and with the return of Tonti. The latter told them that in his second voyage down the Mississippi, there was at the mouth of the river "a very fine port with a beautiful entrance and wide channel; and also places fit for building forts, and not at all inundated, as he had supposed when he descended the first time with Sieur de la Salle, adding that the lower river is habitable, and even inhabited by Indian villages." It is enough to mention these facts to realize that all this is invented, and that the inundation of the Mississippi made it impossible for nearly forty years to build any fort whatsoever on the lower course of the river.[104] Tonti also understood that La Salle figured out that there could be no more than "forty or fifty leagues" from Bay St. Louis to the Mississippi in a straight line. In a straight line the distance is 400 miles. If they were so close to the Mississippi, why should La Salle wish to go to the Illinois country?

We are then given a description of the country. The forests are full of every kind of trees, "so distributed that you can everywhere ride through on horseback." Joutel, however, speaks of deep ravines, of impassable rivers and of all kinds of accidents. There follows a fish story. At the foot of the fort, one does not bother with basket or net, one just puts one's hand into the river, and takes out all the fish one wants. "Our people one day took away from an Indian a fish-head which was alone a load for a man." Horses are plentiful too, "the Indians thinking themselves well paid when they get an axe for a good horse." Of course, we are not told that this side of the Arkansas there are no horses. Sugar cane will come well, for Louisiana is close to "Terra Firma." The fact that sugar cane only began to be planted in the fifties of the eighteenth century is a detail which is omitted by the narrator. The various accidents along the journey prevented them from searching for the treasures of the country, but there is lead and copper ready to work.

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[103] "The 'Récit des voyages et des decouvertes du Pere Jacques Marquette,' " Mid-America, 28 (1946): 183 ff.

[104] "Mr. de la salle nous a toujours dit quil falloit remonter le flueve pres de soixante leiues pour trouver un terrain proper a habiter atendu que le bas dudit fleuve etoit inhabitable a cause des debordements Et des vases quil laissoit Et que il paroissoit mesme noyé aincy quil nous a toujours dit Et mesme en france." Remarques tirees du livre intitulé, ASH, 115-9: no. 12.

Father Anastasius had intended to found a mission among the Cenis, where Father Membré was to join him. Perhaps, he says, this Father as well as Father Maxime have already gone there, and M. de Chefdeville is at the mission of Fort St. Louis. Although they did not know it, the two Recollects and M. de Chefdeville had been massacred by the Indians two years before this was written.

"There were nine or ten French families with their children, and, besides several of our people had gone to get and had actually married Indian women to multiply the colony. What had befallen them since I do not know." When Anastasius left, there were in all seven women and girls; one of whom had married Barbier; as for those marrying Indian women, the French were at war with the Indians from the very beginning.

"This," he says, "is a faithful extract of what Father Anastasius could remember of his toilsome voyage." They finally reached Paris, "God enabling them to be still together," when they "presented an account of all to the marquis de Seignelay." First of all, it is not true that they were still together. On October 20, Father Douay went straight to Paris from Saumur, whereas Joutel went to Rouen with Cavelier. The latter did not leave this place for Paris until December 10. Second, what was said to Seignelay? Did Douay continue the pretense and hide the death of La Salle? Apparently not, for even if the Recollect had said nothing, Cavelier was soon to set matters right with the minister. Why in the account purportedly written by Father Anastasius is there not a word about concealing La Salle's death? This would certainly have been more relevant than the trivialities indulged in by the author of the *First*

Establishment; for Joutel in his journal, comes back again and again to the assassination of the explorer.

If there was nothing else in the pseudo-Douay narrative than the account of the murder of La Salle, it would be sufficient to arouse our suspicions as to its genuineness. For when an eye-witness gives two such different versions of the same event one may justifiably wonder whether there is not in it many more tamperings with the facts.

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Book Reviews

The Journals and Indian Paintings of George Winter 1837–1839. Published by Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis, Indiana, 1948. Pp. xix, 207, 31 illustrations.

This large volume bound beautifully in buckram is indeed an example of elegant and artistic printing. Its format undoubtedly will long be pointed to with pride by The Lakeside Press. The gratitude of the Indiana Historical Society toward the Lilly Endowment which supplied the funds for the publication and toward Cable G. Ball and the Tippecanoe County Historical Association for their permissions and co-operation will remain permanently expressed in this library treasure. Few will quibble at the price of the volume, twelve and one-half dollars, in view of the many values it expresses.

The Introduction is by Howard H. Peckham, Secretary of the Indiana Historical Society. He traces briefly the story of artists who from the time of the Roanoke colony to George Winter portrayed the North American Indians in oils, in water colors, in ink, or in pencil. Because few artists depicted the Central Western Indians and because Winter made firsthand historical records of the Miami and Potawatomi, more than seventy water colors and numerous pen and pencil sketches, Peckham assigns a rightful historical importance to Winter. Moreover, Winter left letters, notes, and diaries of his days among the Indians.

Wilbur D. Peat, director of the John Herron Art Museum, has ten pages of appraisal of George Winter as an artist. Mr. Peat confirms the historical evaluation of the water colors by saying that "they were made from the standpoint of ethnological accuracy rather than delightful artistry," and inscribed "with the names of people, places, and dates." (P. 6.)

Miss Gayle Thornbrough writes the "Biographical Sketch" of George Winter and edits his "Journal of a Visit to Lake Kee-wau-nay and Crooked Creek, 1837," and his "Journal of a Visit to Deaf Man's Village, 1839." The first thirty pages of the biography are Winter's Autobiography, 1809–1830, as he wrote it in 1873. This covers the period from the birth of Winter in 1809 at Portsea, Southampton, England, to his arrival in New York. Little is known of his life of study and hardship in the East and in Cincinnati. His stay in Logansport, Indiana, 1837–1850, is told charmingly by Miss Thornbrough, chiefly from his reminiscences, letters, and art work. The story is one of privation for the artist and his family, until he settled in Lafayette. There from 1850 to 1876 when he was suddenly stricken, he passed his years working before his easel and distributing his work for generally meagre returns.

The two journals and the portraits of historic white and Indian personages with their descriptive notes are good source materials. Winter expresses with every brush-stroke and with poetic and journalistic pen his love for the land of his adoption and his sympathy for the Red Man, "the unfortunate aboriginies . . ., whose fate undoubtedly is a rapid exit from this nether world." His accounts of the drinking habits of the Indians, and, in fact, of his own partakings of the "critter," reveal him as not puritanical. The second of the journals, written in 1871 about an event of 1839, is more particular and less garrulous. In this Visit to the Deaf Man's Village Winter tells how he came to paint the portrait of Frances Slocum, the "Lost Sister," who after a captivity of nearly sixty years among the Indians, had been discovered on the banks of the Wabash.

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Old St. Patrick's Cathedral. By Mother Mary Peter Carthy, O.S.U. Monograph Series XXIII, United States Catholic Historical Society. New York, 1947. Pp.

The history of New York's first cathedral, now a humble parish-church in lower Manhatten, makes interesting reading. The building was begun in 1809 by Father Anthony Kohlmann, S.J., vicar-general for the first two prelates, Bishop Concanen, O.P., and Bishop Connolly, O.P.; its dedication to St. Patrick, suggested by Archbishop John Carroll, made it the first church in the United States to be placed under the invocation of Ireland's patron saint. From 1809 to 1879 as the mother church of the vast New York diocese it was to be presided over by four bishops, Connolly, Dubois, Hughes and McCloskey. Much of its early history concerns the financial problems of raising funds from poor people amidst hard times; the work contains some interesting accounts of the methods of gathering monies—pew-rents, fund-societies and collections. This financial task was greatly complicated by the obstructions of recalcitrant trustees, a problem which the determined Archbishop Hughes finally and completely solved. In its early days old St. Patrick's was more than once threatened with destruction by Nativists and Know-Nothings; but the bigots' fanaticism drew back before the courage of the men-parishioners who gathered about their cathedral resolved to defend it with their lives. Many of the first steps in Catholic education in New York were taken by the Cathedral parish: the New York Literary Institution, the establishments of the Ursulines, the Sisters of Charity, the Religious of the Sacred Heart, the Sisters of Mercy and the Christian Brothers. The original edifice was enlarged in 1838 to become the largest church structure in the city. An accidental fire in 1866 completely destroyed the old building, which however was rebuilt within six months. Several diocesan and provincial synods were held within the walls of old St. Patrick's; ten bishops were consecrated at its altar; and the first American Cardinal, Cardinal McCloskey, was invested with the dignity of a prince of the church in its sanctuary. With the opening of the great cathedral on Fifth Avenue, the older building became a simple parish church. Mother Carthy has made her scholarly history pleasant reading by the introduction of several interesting incidents; she has also enlivened the text with four prints of the old cathedral. One would like to see added a present-day photograph of the venerable structure, and also a lengthier account of the parish since 1879.

Martin P. Harney

Boston College.

MID-AMERICA

An Historical Review

VOLUME 30, NUMBER 4 OCTOBER 1948

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VOLUME 30 NEW SERIES, VOLUME 19 NUMBER 4

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Published quarterly by Loyola University (The Institute of Jesuit History) at 50 cents a copy. Annual subscription, $2.00; in foreign countries, $2.50. Publication and editorial offices at Loyola University, 6525 Sheridan Road, Chicago, Illinois. All communications should be addressed to the Managing Editor. Entered as second class matter, August 7, 1929, at the post office at Chicago, Illinois, under the Act of March 3, 1879. Additional entry as second class matter at the post office at Effingham, Illinois. Printed in the United States.

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The Background of the Chicago River and Harbor Convention, 1847

One of the more interesting social phenomena of the United States in the 1830's and 40's was the "convention". Dozens of these gatherings of earnest, zealous believers in a special cause were held in the "millennial years" when the promise of united action with befitting results was more than a will-o'-the-wisp leading the faithful into political sloughs and swamps. To the already crowded calendars of folk who attended religious, scientific, and political conventions with regularity and devotion were added reform conventions, commercial conventions, railroad conventions, and internal improvement conventions.

Perhaps the most important article of faith in the creed of convention-makers and convention-goers was the belief that the deliberations of the mass organization had a measurable result in public conversion and legislative action. The convention was a type of "pressure group" peculiarly suited to a period of fluid social and political patterns. In an era when newspapers were still the expression of a single mind, when control of public opinion through mass media of communication was yet undreamed of, this method of organizing group reaction toward a specific end was undoubtedly effective. Moreover, the convention was a "promotional" device for whipping up enthusiasm, for creating a sense of solidarity and unity, for boosting a section or a class two or more degrees above its neighbor. The means of transportation were improving; people could move with ease and comfort across vast spaces and satisfy gregarious needs more keenly felt in that relatively individualistic and centrifugal society. Finally, what better than a convention to reinforce the conviction of brotherhood and democratic cooperation? A primary tenet of democratic citizenship was the obligation to meet, to pool ideas, and to devise joint action for attaining the common good.

The River and Harbor Convention held in Chicago, July 5-7, 1847, is an excellent example of this social phenomena. Historically, this giant demonstration of the impact of the "American System" upon American thought falls between three other notable conventions: the Memphis Convention of 1845 and the Railroad Conventions at St. Louis and Memphis in 1849. The 1840 decade, it would appear, was a decade of decisions. Frequently referred to by historians, the Chicago Convention has not received the thorough treatment that the meetings of 1845 and 1849 have been accorded.[1] Yet, in many respects, it was far more important in its influence on subsequent events than either those which preceded or followed it. It is the purpose of this paper to outline the origin of the Chicago Convention against a background of contemporary problems.

By 1835 it was plainly evident that whatever sections of the country could tie the vast and rapidly expanding commerce of the Northwest, the Lake area, and the Mississippi valley to its economy would be in a position to dominate the economic and political life of the nation. The battle for power that followed this discovery was long, bitter, and unscrupulous. The tactics and strategems employed have provided economic historians with materials for a lifetime of research—and the end is not in sight.

No definite figures for the lake and river commerce of the West have ever been compiled, probably never can be. Most of the evidence must be drawn from sources that are little more than propaganda for one proposal or another. John W. Monette estimated that the value of the lake trade in the year 1845 was not less than $100,000,000. The "internal trade and commerce of the western states, including the western rivers, is not less than $350,000,000 annually." Of this amount the downward trade of the Mississippi and its tributaries totaled $120,000,000 and the upward trade was at least $100,000,000.[2] Col. John J. Abert, of the Corps of Topographical Engineers, reported that the lake commerce in 1845, between Chicago and Buffalo, "exceeded one hundred million dollars".[3] Another report on the commerce of the West, prepared by Thomas Allen, valued the domestic products of the Mississippi Valley at $262,825,620, and the aggregate commerce upon the waters of the Mississippi valley at $432,251,240 in 1846.[4] In terms of sheer volume Allen's figures are staggering. The agricultural products of the Valley states (Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, Missouri, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Michigan, Iowa, and Wisconsin) for 1845 were listed[5] as follows:

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[1] R. S. Cotterill, "The Memphis Railroad Convention, 1849," *Tennessee Historical Magazine*, IV (1st Series, June 1913), 83–94; Robert R. Russel, "The Pacific Railway Issue in Politics Prior to the Civil War," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XII (September, 1925), 187–201; Robert R. Russel, "A Revaluation of the Period before the Civil War: Railroads," *Ibid.* XV (December, 1928), 341–354; Margaret L. Brown, "Asa Whitney and His Pacific Railroad Publicity Campaign," *Ibid.* XX (September, 1933), 209–224; St. George L. Sioussat, "Memphis as a Gateway to the West," *Tenn. Hist. Mag.*, III (1st Series, March 1917, June 1917), 1–27, 77–114; Herbert Wender, *Southern Commercial Conventions, 1837–1859,* Baltimore, 1930.

Wheat	52,423,000 bu.	Tobacco	125,962,400 lbs.
Oats	88,336,000 bu.	Cotton	631,670,000 lbs.
Corn	297,396,000 bu.	Sugar	194,047,000 lbs.
Potatoes	26,695,000 bu.		

The Chicago *Evening Journal* announced that in 1845 a total of 1,500,000 barrels of flour passed over the Great Lakes, as well as 250,000 passengers. "At the present time, the commerce of the Lakes may be fairly estimated at $100,000,000 per annum."[6] In addition to the rough statistics just listed, one must remember the amount of fabricated goods being shipped into the country as well as the outgoing cargoes of lumber, hides, cured and salted meats, fish, and ores (especially the lead from the Galena and Wisconsin areas).[7] This was truly a prize worth fighting for.

Allen estimated the licensed steamboat tonnage on the Mississippi and its tributaries at 159,713 tons (which prorated meant about 789 boats) in 1845. By 1846 licensed steamboat tonnage had jumped to 249,054 tons or 1,190 boats. These boats had an aggregate value, in 1846, of $16,188,451.[8] *The Cleveland Plain Dealer* listed lake tonnage above the falls of Niagara at 76,000 tons for 1845 (steamboats 52, propellers 8, brigs 50, schooners 270) with a total value of $4,600,000.[9]

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[2] John W. Monette, "Progress of Navigation and Commerce on the Waters of the Mississippi River and the Great Lakes, 1700 to 1846," *Mississippi Historical Society Proceedings, VII* (1903), 514, 523.

[3] Col. John James Abert, *House Ex. Doc.* 29th Cong. 1st Sess. No. 2, pp. 290 *ff*. See also the "Memorial of the Citizens of Cincinnati, 1843, *House Ex. Doc.* 27th Cong. 3rd Sess. No. 124.

[4] Thomas Allen, *The Commerce and Navigation of the Valley of the Mississippi Prepared for the Use of the Chicago Convention of July 5, 1847,* St. Louis, 1847, 8–9.

[5] *Ibid.*, 30

[6] Chicago *Evening Journal*, August 31, 1846. Also, *Speech of Rep. C. W. Cathcart before the House of Representatives, February 4, 1847,* (Printed for circulation, Blair and Ives, Washington, 1847), 6. Cathcart was from Indiana.

[7] The sources are multitudinous. See especially Albert B. Chambers, *Proceeding of the St. Louis Chamber of Commerce in Relation to the Improvement of Navigation of the Mississippi,* St. Louis, 1842; James H. Lanham, "Commerce of the Mississippi," *Hunt's Merchants Magazine* IX (August, 1843), 154–160; J. D. B. De Bow, "The American Lakes," *Commercial Review,* IV (November, 1847), 386–390; John W. Monette, *The History of the Discovery and Settlement of the Valley of the Mississippi...,* New York, 1846; James Hall, *Notes on the West,* Philadelphia, 1833; *The West: Its Commerce and Navigation,* Cincinnati, 1848.

The steady influx of settlers swelled the annual volume of business. Population in the Valley had increased from four and a quarter millions in 1830 to seven and a half millions. Much of what the settlers needed had to be brought over the lakes or up the rivers. All that they sold had to be exported the same way. Commerce, increasing steadily, reaped greater profits. A new class, the western merchant and middleman, exacted his toll going and coming. Settlers sought reduced rates to ease the constant poverty facing them. Land speculators desired new means of access to their lands. On all sides rose the cry, "the hazards to trade and commerce must be reduced." Storms raged on the lakes and sheltered harbors did not exist. Buffalo, Cleveland, Detroit and Chicago lacked adequate ports. Shallows, bars, and sand spits took their annual tolls. Buoys and light houses were haphazardly provided. "The navigation of the lakes is critical," complained the Chicago *Evening Journal,* "and requires a great improvement in light-houses, beacons, buoys, harbors, etc. During the last five years, more than four hundred lives have been lost, and last fall [1845], during the boisterous weather, 60 lives were lost, 36 vessels were driven ashore, 20 became total wrecks, 4 foundered; the loss of property was estimated at $200,000."[10] On the Mississippi and its tributaries the risks were equally serious. The rivers were obstructed by snags, sawyers, rafts, rapids, shifting sand bars. According to Allen, there were 21 boats wrecked on snags alone in 1840, estimated lost $336,000; 24 boats were similarly destroyed in 1846, estimated loss $697,500. The annual loss of life on boats in the St. Louis area alone was above 150.[11] Declared James B. Bowlin of Missouri, "the history of the world presents no example of an amount of destruction of property and loss of life equal to that which yearly occurs upon the rivers of the West." Between 1839 and 1841 loss of property on western rivers was placed at $1,248,000.[12] And it mounted yearly.

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[8] Allen, *The Commerce and Navigation,* 6–7.

[9] Quoted in the Chicago *Evening Journal,* August 31, 1846.

[10] Chicago *Evening Journal,* August 31, 1846. See Cathcart's speech, *op. cit.,* 6, where losses on Lake Erie and Lake Michigan are set at $190,000.

[11] Allen, 10. This figure, of course, included explosions, not always caused by river obstructions. "And who shall gather the tears of the widow and the orphan, the bloody sweat of anguished families, and the grief for loved ones lost . . .?" *Ibid.,* 11.

All who depended on the waterways of the west for outlets to markets, for means of access to raw materials ready for exploitation (land, forests, minerals), and for mercantile and transport profits shared the common enthusiasm for a comprehensive system of government supported internal improvements which would expand the facilities for inland navigation as well as improve and protect existing facilities. This was a prime factor in the calling of the Northwestern River and Harbor Convention in Chicago in 1847.

Desire to control this vast area, its resources and its commerce, precipitated one crisis after another from the Northwest Ordinance to the Compromise of 1850. In the beginning the seaboard states had refused to release their colonial claims to land beyond the Appalachians to the federal government because the creation of new states might jeopardize the powers exercised by the old ones. A sisterhood of states was a hard idea to grasp. Only the greater fear that a trans-Appalachian nation might arise persuaded them to relinquish their claims that all might share in the proceeds derived from a just and equitable exploitation of the federal domain. Thereafter the contest was bitter.

Washington had pointed out the need for a canal to connect the system of lakes in the Northwest with the Chesapeake Bay. The Cumberland Road was the next best substitute. Under Jefferson the Road was pushed vigorously westward with federal funds. The Ohio River, in conjunction with the Road, became the great highway to the new Eden. New York, however, under the able leadership of Clinton, proposed to make her port the Commercial Emporium of the new nation, and the Erie Canal was inaugurated—without benefit of federal aid, either in money or land grant. Strict construction had achieved that checkmate. The success of the Canal awakened the entire nation. New Orleans and New York now received the bulk of western commerce. Philadelphia, Baltimore, Charleston, Savannah, and Boston began to scheme and plan for their share of the trade. Pennsylvania embarked on a vast program of state constructed public works designed to draw trade Philadelphia-ward. Ohio wanted two systems of canals to connect Lake

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[12] *Congressional Globe*, 28th Cong. 1st Sess. XIII, 150. The southern shore of Lake Michigan, specifically at Michigan City, was then referred to as "the Coast of Bones." Cathcart's speech, *op. cit.*, 5.

Erie with the river artery to the south. The South began to plan a system of railroads that would connect the Ohio-Mississippi waterway with ports on the southeast seaboard, Savannah, Charleston, Richmond, Baltimore. Alabama wanted a road to connect the Ohio with Mobile. Michigan planned a canal to connect her eastern waters with the Grand River. Illinois and Indiana were locked in deadly controversy over the route to connect Lake Michigan with the central waterway. Boston decided to draw the lake trade by rail to the Erie-Albany River route.[13] Gradually this free for all resolved itself into two strong sectional areas the Middle and Northeast and the Southeast, bidding for the trade of the West.

The Southern bid was based on a belief, later discovered to be erroneous, that all that had to be done was to tap the river routes of western commerce and the golden flood would pour through the new channels to southern seaports. Southern statesmen saw only too well that a continuing economic existence depended on developing diversified industries and on expanding trade with Europe. If their ports could become centers through which manufacturers could pass north and westward to the hinterland, and products from that same hinterland flow out to Europe, South America, and the Orient, prosperity would be assured. Railroads could tie into the river system at Cincinnati, St. Louis, Memphis, and Natchez. This was the grand strategy behind the Knoxville and Macon conventions in 1836. At Knoxville plans were laid to build a road from Cincinnati to Charleston. The Macon convention was called specifically to promote a road with a Georgia seaport as the terminus. Still earlier, in 1834, a convention at Columbia, Tennessee, had sanctioned a railroad from Memphis to Baltimore and from Memphis to Charleston.[14]

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[13] George W. Stephens, "Some Aspects of Early Intersectional Rivalry for the Commerce of the Upper Mississippi Valley," *Washington University Studies*, X (1922), 277 ff. David Henshaw, *Letters on the Internal Improvement and Commerce of the West*, Boston, 1839, 26–27.

[14] See particularly R. S. Cotterill, "Southern Railroads and Western Trade, 1840–1850," *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, III (March, 1917), 427–441; R. S. Cotterill, "The National Railroad Convention in St. Louis, 1849," *Missouri Historical Review*, XII (July, 1918), 203–215; R. S. Cotterill, "Southern Railroads, 1850–1860," *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.* X (March, 1924), 396–405; Robert E. Riegel, "Trans-Mississippi Railroads During the Fifties," *Ibid.* X (September, 1923), 153–172; R. B. Way, "The Mississippi Valley and Internal Improvements, 1825–1840," *Mississippi Valley Hist. Association Proceedings*, IV (1910–1911), 153–180; Frank H. Hodder, "Genesis of the Kansas-Nebraska Act," *Wisconsin State Historical Society Proceedings*, (1912), 69–86; P. Orman Ray, "The Genesis of the Kansas-Nebraska Act," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, (1914), 261–280 (a refutation of Hodder); F. H. Hodder, "The Railroad Background of the Kansas–Nebraska Act," *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.* XII (June,

The Northern proposal, intricately devised of plans for land grants, protective tariffs, and eastern financing, sought to improve existing waterways—the Ohio, the Mississippi, and smaller tributaries, to construct a canal from Lake Michigan to the Illinois and/or Wabash rivers, to dredge out the river mouths along the lake fronts, and to facilitate the movement of inland products to the steam-boat landings . It also envisaged a system of railroads leading directly into the areas where the commerce originated. Quietly, with little fanfare, the railroad interests of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore began to build railways into the west across the mountains and along the northern and southern shores of Lake Erie

David Henshaw insisted as early as 1838 that Boston capital should promote railroads from the Ohio River to Lake Erie in order to tie that trade into the Great Western Railroad system. The railroads would aid and supplement the movement of goods across the midwest; they would compete for trade, but there was trade enough for all.[15] What was urgently needed, in this view of the situation, was the recognition of the principle of land grants to the states through which the roads were chartered, and the imposition of a protective tariff that would give the advantage of extra profits and added incentive to northern manufacturers and higher prices to western farmers. At least, that was the theory behind the "American System" everywhere propounded by the Whig party.

Essential links in the Northern system were the waterways. Canada's Welland Canal was draining trade from the lakes to Montreal and the St. Lawrence. Horace Greeley complained that enterprising men were advertising to carry wheat all the way to Montreal, thence to Lake Champlain and the Albany River at a cheaper rate than that offered by the Erie Canal route.[16] New York laid plans to widen the Canal to meet the competition; it had become too small and congested to carry the vast traffic seeking an eastern outlet through it. The Buffalo harbor was totally inadequate; the St. Clair Flats needed to be dredged; the great resources of Lake Superior

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1925), 3–22 (Hodder's final word); Letter of John C. Calhoun to Sidney Breese, July 27, 1839, *Illinois State Historical Society Journal,* II (October, 1909), 79. See also footnote 1, *supra.*

[15] Henshaw, *Letters,* 26. L. A. Chase, "Michigan's Share in the Establishment of Improved Transportation Between East and West," *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collection,* XXXVIII (1912). See also James H. Buckingham's letters to the Boston *Courier, July* 6, 8, 1947, in "Illinois as Lincoln Knew It," *Papers of Illinois State Historical Society,* (1937), 110–187.

[16] New York *Weekly Tribune,* June 19, 1847.

could be secured only by a canal and locks at Sault Ste. Marie. Thus the trade of the Great Lakes would be diverted from the outreaching hands of the South.

By 1845 the railroad had become such an important factor in transportation that it began to replace the improvement of rivers and the construction of canals in the sectional economic rivalries. As already indicated, railroads were inching across the North, not as an integrated system but as separate state or corporation enterprises. Often different gauges were employed, deliberately, to cut off chances of interlocking or absorption by stronger organizations. Boston was building its Great Western to Albany. Philadelphia and Baltimore were pushing roads west through the Appalachians. Ohio was already paralleling her great canals with railroads. Michigan had launched a state operated system of railways involving a Northern, a Central, and a Southern route. The Michigan Central had advanced as far as Jackson by 1845. Illinois, like Michigan, had planned to crisscross the state with rails.[17] It would not take long for the wisdom of a correlated system, linking the Mississippi and the Great Lakes with the Atlantic seaboard, to become apparent.

Railroad and Internal Improvement conventions became the order of the day. A railroad convention was called at Jamestown, New York, in 1831 to promote a road into southwestern New York, and another was held in Brownsville, Maryland, to quicken the languishing Baltimore and Ohio railroad. In 1836 a convention was called in Knoxville, Tennessee, to further plans for a railroad to the Atlantic at Charleston. New York City held a convention in 1839 to oppose Boston's efforts to build her road west to Albany —to no avail. A Rivers and Harbors meeting in Cincinnati in 1842 memorialized Congress for increased aid to improve transportation in the rivers of the Mississippi system. Then John C. Calhoun, awake at last to the real sectional nature of the question, fathered the greatest convention of all, the Southwestern Convention at Memphis in 1845. A preliminary meeting, July 4th, discussed the problem of the defenses of the west, the removal of snags from the Mississippi and other rivers, and the construction of a Great Lakes-Mississippi ship canal. The greater convention, November 12th, with Calhoun in the chair, re-examined all these questions and called upon the federal government to perform or finance the needed improvements. This was an astonishing about face for the strict constructionist, Calhoun. It was his plan that the South and the West should become political allies. By supporting a program of improvement of the Mississippi River ("an inland sea") through federal funds and by invoking the clause in the Constitution, "regulate commerce between the states," he hoped to wean the West away from the North. It was a clever scheme, the master stroke of a master politician.[18]

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[17] Henshaw, *Letters,* 22–25. Also F. L. Paxon, "Railroads of the 'Old Northwest' before the Civil War," *Wisconsin Academy of Science, Arts, and Letters Transactions,* XVII (1914), 243–274.

Calhoun personally undertook to present the Memphis resolutions to the next session of Congress and prepared an elaborate Report to that end. In a carefully worded lawyer's argument he straddled the constitutional problem neatly. Congress, he said, under the Constitution could improve rivers where three or more states were concerned but not where only two were involved (thus cutting out the Wabash and the Illinois projects); it could improve harbors for naval purposes but not for commerce (thus cutting off most of the harbor plans for the Great Lakes but aiding his own program for Atlantic and Gulf ports); it could contribute aid to the building of roads and railroads in the territories but not in the states (thus killing the hopes of both southern and northern railroads for federal grants); it could not, however, aid in the construction of a canal from the Great Lakes to the Mississippi.[19] That he thought his plan had succeeded is evident from a letter he wrote to Thomas G. Clemson, July 11, 1846, in which he declared:

> The South and West have never been so strongly united before; . . . To this desirable result, my report on the Memorial of the Memphis Convention has greatly contributed. The improvement of the navigation of the Mississippi was the great barrier, which kept them asunder and threw the West into the arms of the east. I hope I have forever removed it, by showing that the power is clearly embraced by that of regulating commerce among the states. As far as I can learn the conclusion to which I have come will be sustained by both sections.[20]

On August 3, 1846, Polk vetoed the Rivers and Harbors appropriation bill. Calhoun believed that Polk's action would drive all parties to accept his interpretation of the constitution if further vetoes were to be avoided.[21] He was wrong. By subverting the real interests of the West to his own political machinations, he lost to the South forever any chance of uniting the two sections. Like John Q. Adams, too many looked upon his phrases and his arguments as the devices of a "political mountebank".[22] His actions had alienated a majority in the West and intensified the efforts of the East to use a different tactic—a convention of their own in the Northwest!

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[18] De Bow wrote, "the effect was electrical. In many places it was stated that Mr. Calhoun had struck his flag and gone over to the side of internal improvement—though he disclaimed anything of the kind. In South Carolina so intense was the feeling and so evident the fear of defection that though re-elected by the legislature then in session, to the Senate, Mr. Calhoun's course was much and strongly animadverted upon." *Commercial Review*, II (September, 1846), 83. See also De Bow's article "The Chicago and Memphis Conventions," *Commercial Review*, IV (September, 1847), 123.

[19] Richard K. Crallé, ed., *Works of John C. Calhoun*, New York, 1883, V, 297–310.

[20] Franklin Jameson, ed. *Correspondence of John C. Calhoun*, (*Annual Rept. Am. Hist. Assoc.* II, 1899), 700–701.

Still another factor in the calling of the Chicago Convention was the issue of a railroad to the Pacific. Oregon, Texas, and California were uppermost in everyone's mind in 1847. The settlement of the Oregon question made the Pacific Northwest a likely outlet to the commerce of the Far East. The prospects of the military acquisition of the Southwest, made it just as likely that the harbors of California would be used for that purpose. Both possibilities had been hotly debated for some time and the Oregon and Mexican contests were forcing the debate to a practical decision. Asa Whitney's projected road from Lake Michigan to the Pacific by way of the South Pass was conceived in 1844 and presented in the form of a memorial to Congress in 1845.[23] Prof. Caleb Forshey presented a plan for a Pacific railroad by a southern route (Charleston to Vidalia, La., to Mazatlán) at the Memphis Convention, Nov. 1845.[24] George Wilkes had proposed a government built railroad to the Pacific in his *History of Oregon* in 1845. He submitted his plan to Congress in 1846, denouncing Whitney's railroad as a gigantic monopoly for Whitney and his heirs. Nevertheless, Whitney's proposal passed the Senate, with limitations, in 1846; the House, however, failed to act upon it. James Gadsden became a champion of a southern route, in 1846, changing the terminus, however from Mazatlán to San Francisco.[25] Matthew Maury, as an expert, testified for a southern route terminating at Monterey. Major W. H. Emory's expedition to the Gila River country in 1846–1847 had helped to popularize that route in the press. Public feeling ran high. If the projected route went to Oregon, northern capital would control it and the economic benefits would accrue to the North and Middle West; if it went to California, not only would the South profit economically but its "institutions" would follow the road as well. Both sections had exaggerated notions of the amount of the wealth of the Indies that would flow into the United States. Both wanted and needed that wealth.

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[21] *Correspondence of Calhoun,* II, 703. "The veto of the Harbour Bill gives . . . [the Report] new interest and importance. The President, in his unwillingness to take my ground, placed his veto on grounds wholly indefensible. Nothing is left for all interested but to rally on mine. They may stand there, without the fear of a veto."

[22] Charles Francis Adams, ed., *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams,* Philadelphia, 1874–1877, XII, 269.

[23] R. S. Cotterill, "Early Agitation for a Pacific Railroad," *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.,* V (March, 1919), 396–414; Nelson H. Loomis, "Asa Whitney, Father of the Pacific Railroads," *Miss. Valley Hist. Assoc. Proc.,* VI (1912–1913), 166–175.

[24] Edward Mayes, "Origin of the Pacific Railroads," *Miss. Hist. Soc. Pub.* VI (1902), 307–337.

[25] Note that Gadsden was later made minister to Mexico, to purchase the Gila River area for the Pacific railroad route.

Economic conditions in the middle of the 1840's were generally bad. Prices began falling after the "boom and bust" era of state financing; no farmers and few merchants were experiencing anything like adequate returns for their labor or their investment. Surplus grain and livestock could not be disposed of; the overseas market for foodstuffs had not yet developed; the freight charges—along with excessive insurance rates—made it impossible to ship produce any distance at a profit.[26] Economic distress made the acquisition of Oregon and Texas the easier; right and wrong were relative matters in a depressed economy. In 1839 corn sold, in Illinois, for 30½ cents a bushel; in 1844, for 21½ cents; in 1847, for 14 cents. Hogs sold for $4.20 a cwt, in 1839; in 1847, for $1.45 per cwt. Cattle brought $20.09 per cwt. in 1839; in 1844, $8.50; in 1846, $7.75.[27] The Independence, Missouri, *Journal* editorialized, January 4, 1845:

> It will be at once acknowledged by any sensible man that a richer soil cannot be expected than that of the fertile valley of the Mississippi. What then is wanted? It is *Position!* The natural advantages of situation of our Territory on the Pacific coast, almost rivalling [*sic*] those of our Atlantic shores . . .; the position of commanding the trade of the Pacific and Southern Oceans, whose waters wash the shores of some of the wealthiest powers of the earth; and the position of holding a country fertile enough, rich enough in its natural advantages, salubrious enough to be the home of thousands of freemen, belongs to the Oregon Territory—let her take her place.[28]

Even more pointed were the remarks of Senator J. Semple, Chairman of the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads:

> In the occupation of Oregon, we are about to connect ourselves with the Pacific Ocean, to open the way to a new and indefinite commerce, and bring

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[26] J. C. Bell, *Opening a Highway to the Pacific, 1833–1846*, Columbia University Studies in History, New York, 1921, "Agrarian Discontent in the Mississippi Valley, 1840–1845."

[27] Ezra M. Prince, "Prices in McLean Co., Illinois, 1832–1860," *Ill. State Hist. Soc. Trans..* (1904), 526–542.

[28] Quoted in J. C. Bell, 130.

ourselves into connection with Asia, Polynesia, and Southern America, by the most direct, natural, and easy route. We have seen that already overgrowth, over-production, and too great agricultural competition at home have reduced the reward of labor in all employments.[29]

Southern economists, too, were looking for *position* for the United States in the world's markets. At every commercial and railroad convention, from 1845 on, men like De Bow were pointing to the alluring mirage of increased foreign trade—with the Orient and especially with South America.[30] If a Pacific railroad was to be a panacea for America's economic ills, those in the upper Mississippi valley where the pinch was felt wanted to be sure that the road benefited their area. This was another reason for rallying in a convention: to oppose any other route, particularly one that was becoming more probable with the approaching end of the Mexican war.

The most immediate reason for holding a convention in 1847 was to protest the veto by President Polk of the 1846 Rivers and Harbors Bill. Whether Polk was right in his decision to "obstruct" internal improvements is not within the scope of this paper to determine.[31] The bill for the improvement of rivers and harbors passed the House, March 20, 1846, by a vote of 109 to 90. The same bill was passed in the Senate, July 24, 34 to 16. On August 3, after long and careful deliberation and some consultation with his Cabinet, Polk sent his veto message to the House. In the House vote on a motion to override the veto the next day, 91 members supported the veto and 95 objected to it. For lack of the necessary two-thirds the bill was killed for that session.

Polk's message was direct and concise. "The Constitution", he said, "has not in my judgment, conferred upon the Federal Government the power to construct works of internal improvement within the States, or to appropriate money from the treasury for that purpose . . ." He pointed out that "some of the objects of appropriation contained in this bill are local in their character, and lie within the limits of a single State; . . . they are called *harbors;* they are not connected with foreign commerce, nor are they places of refuge or shelter for our navy or commercial marine on the ocean or lake shores. To call the mouth of a creek or a shallow inlet on our coasts a harbor, cannot confer the authority to expend the public money on its improvement". He further asserted that the bill promoted sectional jealousies, produced a "disreputable scramble" for public funds, was unfair to states that paid for their own internal improvements, divided the "national treasure" unequally, provided for objects of "no pressing necessity", and drained the treasury at a time when all available monies were needed to prosecute the Mexican War.[32]

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[29] *Sen. Doc.* 29th Cong. 1st Sess. No. 306. P. 25.

[30] W. W. Davis, "Ante-Bellum Southern Commercial Convention," *Alabama Historical Society Transactions,* V (1904), 153–202, R. G. Cleland, "Asiatic Trade and American Occupation of the Pacific Coast," *Am. Hist. Asso. Report I* (1914), 283–289.

[31] That the bill had been scandalously pork-barrelled is evident from J. Q. Adams' account of the voting on the amendments. Adams, *Memoirs of John Q. Adams* XII, 251–252. For studies of the problem see E. C. Nelson, "Presidential Influence on the Policy of Internal Improvements," *Iowa Journal of History and Politics,* IV (January, 1906), 3–69; Isaac Lippincott, "A History of River Improvement," *Journal of Political Economy,* XXII (July, 1914), 630–666; Victor L. Albjerg, "Internal Improvements without a Policy," *Indiana Magazine of History,* XXVIII (March, 1932), 168–179.

An extraordinary storm of protest followed the veto message. Polk, in vetoing the bill, had brought an end to the enthusiastic appropriations of the preceding administrations. Both Jackson and Van Buren had approved the expenditure of millions of dollars for rivers and harbors and in 1844 Tyler had signed a bill providing $650,000 for that purpose.[33] The bill Polk vetoed would have authorized an expenditure of $1,378,450. Of this sum, the greater portion would have been spent on western lakes and harbors.[34] Small wonder, then, that the criticism should have been shrill and insistent. A passage from the Chicago *Evening Journal* illustrates the character of attack:

> [After quoting the portion of the message reproduced above] Such is the reasoning upon which James K. Polk attempts to sustain his Veto . . . because appropriations are made for places, with which there is, as he asserts, no foreign commerce, and are not used as places for shelter of our navy or commercial marine. His real hostility to the Bill cannot be concealed by

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[32] James D. Richardson, ed., *Messages of the Presidents*, Washington, 1900, VI, 2310–2316.

[33] Tyler had the appropriation bill for rivers and harbors broken into two parts. He vetoed the eastern and approved the western approriations, contending that the Mississippi was a highway.

[34] The following tabulation gives some indication of the Lake area affected by the veto:

Port Ontario Harbor	$10,000
Oswego Harbor	10,000
Big Sodus Bay	5,000
Little Sodus Bay	5,000
Genessee River	20,000
Oak Orchard Harbor	7,000
Dredge boat, Lake Ont.	20,000
Buffalo Harbor	15,000
Dunkirk Harbor	15,000
Erie Harbor	40,000
Grand River Harbor	10,000
Cleveland Harbor	$20,000
Huron Harbor	5,000
Sandusky Harbor	14,000
River Raisin	13,000
Dredge boat, Lake Erie	30,000
St. Clair Flats	40,000
Grand River Harbor	10,000
Kalamazoo River Mouth	20,000
St. Joseph Harbor	10,000
Michigan City Harbor	40,000
Racine, Milwaukee, Chicago, and dredge boat	80,000

> such a shallow subterfuge. The objects of improvement lie north of Mason and Dixon's line, and would benefit the North and West, whose growing prosperity is hateful to the slave-owners of the South. The lives and property of the freemen of the North, her free laborers, sailors, and those passing to and fro upon her great Lakes and Rivers, are of no concern to the Government . . . The lives of an hundred or two of hardy mariners, and a few millions of property are of no consequence in the eyes of James K. Polk, when weighed against a Virginia abstraction, or that idol of the South, negro slavery . . .
>
> All other pretenses of objections to the Harbor Bill are idle and vain. The North can and will be no longer hoodwinked. If no measures for protection and improvement of anything North and West are to be suffered by our Southern masters, if we are to be downtrodden, and all our cherished interests crushed by them, a signal revolution will inevitably ensue. The same spirit and energy that forced emancipation for the whole country from Great Britain will throw off the Southern yoke . . .[35]

"Long John" Wentworth of Illinois, always a loyal Democrat, told his constituents that Polk offered the West no hope; hereafter "northern" men must be elected to Congress.[36] "The ships in the [Chicago] harbor half-masted their colors when the news [of the veto] arrived. In the river counties the cant term for snags became Polk stalks, and a sandbar at the mouth of the harbor was named Mount Polk."[37]

Political insurgency, economic rivalry, the continued safe-guarding and growth of northern commerce, the development of unexploited areas, and the relief of an indebted and impoverished class of farmers and artisans called for concerted action. The Northwestern River and Harbor Convention was the result.

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[35] Chicago *Evening Journal*, August 19, 1846. A similar attack was published in the August 12th issue of the same paper.

[36] So quoted in the New York *Weekly Tribune*, September 26, 1846. Greeley added this scathing comment: "Up to the appearance of the Harbor Veto, the South . . . had not a more obsequious set of supporters than the Illinois Delegation, Wentworth included; after the Veto ditto, Wentworth excluded."

[37] Thomas C. Pease, *The Frontier State, 1818–1848, Chicago*, 1919, 334.

Note: The description of the Chicago River and Harbor Convention is to appear in a forthcoming number of *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*. Ed.

Cadillac at Detroit

II

We have previously seen that when Cadillac left Montreal, he hoped that Detroit would be a royal post or that he himself would be given the proprietorship of it. But the ship brought to Quebec a very different answer: the monopoly of trade in Fort Frontenac and Detroit was given to the Company of the Colony. It was understood, however, that all expenses incurred in founding Detroit were to be reimbursed to the Crown.[1] The conditions were submitted to a vote by the shareholders of the Company and ratified on October 8, 1701. On October 31, in an act made by Chambalon, a notary of Quebec, we find some new specifications which had been omitted in the earlier contract. For instance, the king will have to maintain the garrison at Detroit; only the commandant and another officer will be provided with food by the Company; and no one was to trade with either French or Indians, directly or indirectly.[2] These changes in the original contract were still too burdensome, and on November 10, the Directors of the Company of the Colony, sent a long letter to Pontchartrain complaining of the charges taken upon themselves by the Detroit trade monopoly.[3]

The letter was sent to Pontchartrain through Callières and Champigny who annotated it. In one of their remarks, in which they answered one of the items of the letter speaking of gratuities, Callières and Champigny said that they did not know what it meant, for the Directors cannot accuse Sieurs de Lamothe and Tonti, who do not yet know to whom the king has granted the exclusive trade of the Detroit fort.[4] Both were kept in ignorance until July 1702,[5] but this did not prevent Cadillac from making speeches to Indians passing through Detroit.

On December 4, 1701, for instance, in his answer to an Indian named Saint-Chouan, Cadillac said that if Carheil "does not come next spring [1702], I shall perhaps send some people to take him away from Michilimackinac, and pack him off to Montreal, so that he will never trouble you again." This was sheer bravado, for outside the Detroit palisade, Cadillac had no authority over anybody. Saint-Chouan is also supposed to have enunciated a fundamental rule of historical criticism:—the repeated assertion of a fact by different witnesses vouches for its truth. "If one, two, or three were to tell you [Cadillac] what we have just said, you might doubt it; but what we have said was spoken in a council in which the whole nation was assembled. We cannot all be lying."[6] First, let us notice that Cadillac could only produce two Indian chiefs; and second, we should know whether the speeches were trustworthily reported. There is reason to doubt this second point, for as Champigny wrote: "Such speeches, such bickerings can only have bad effects, if all this is true."[7]

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[1] Callières and Champigny to Pontchartrain, October 5, 1701, Margry, 5: 188.

[2] Traité fait avec la Compagnie . . ., October 31, 1701, *ibid.*, 197 f.

[3] Directors of the Company to Pontchartrain, November 10, 1701, *ibid.*, 175 ff.

[4] Remarques et sentimens des Sieurs Chevalier de Callières et de Champigny à plusieurs articles cy à costé, AC, C 11A, 19: 34v.

[5] Margry, 5: 284.

A more important council than the theatrical affairs of 1701, took place in February 1702. The leading figure of this council was Michipichy, known to the French as Quarante Sols. When the latter left Montreal in August 1701, he made straight for Detroit, where he remained a little more than a week,[8] and then left for the Miami mission on the St. Joseph River. In mid-February, Quarante Sols sent word to Cadillac that he was on his way to invite some Hurons settled among the Miami as well as the Miami themselves, and he arrived at Detroit toward the end of the month. Last summer, said Quarante Sols, "Onontio told me to fetch the Hurons who were among the Miami and bring them here [Detroit] to kindle their fire near yours.[9] I carried out his will; I am bringing them all; we as well as those from Michilimackinac shall go to the place assigned to us."[10] "All" the Hurons who came from the Miami, according to Cadillac, numbered thirty families.[11] Quarante Sols also said that he had given ten blankets to a Miami chief and had invited him to come to Detroit. A few days ago, the chief was again asked when he intended to move; he replied that he would come "next year."[12] Of course, the explanation of the Indians' dilatoriness was easily accounted for: their missionary was a Jesuit. Instead of a few Miami families,[13] they would all be in Detroit by now, but for the missionary who is among them and who dissuade the Indians from coming, and but for Callières inconsistency who told them to settle on the St. Joseph River.[14]

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[6] *Ibid.*, 261.

[7] AC, C 11E, 14: 96.

[8] Cadillac to Marest, [June], 1702, Margry, 5: 231.

[9] Cf. La Potherie, *Voyage de l'Amerique Septentrionale*, 4: 254.

[10] Margry, 5: 271 f.

[11] *Ibid.*, note 1. Elsewhere he says that there are six huts. *Ibid.*, 266.

[12] *Ibid.*, 272.

[13] *Ibid.*, 267. In June, 1702, eighteen Miami came to Detroit, Cadillac to Pontchartrain, September 25, 1702, MPHS, 33: 138.

Callières was not inconsistent. His speech to Chichikatalo had made it clear that he wished the Miami to settle on the banks of the St. Joseph River. Opposite to Cadillac remark, Champigny wrote:

> Messrs de Frontenac, de Callières and de Champigny have already done all in their power to invite the Miami of Chicago and other places to unite with those on the St. Joseph River, so as to enable them to ward off Iroquois attacks. In calling the Miami living near Detroit, Callières wanted to give them an opportunity to go there, if they so wished. Sieur de Lamothe is unjustifiably blaming Callières for calling the Miami to gather on the banks of the St. Joseph River.[15]

Cadillac complacently reported the speech which Quarante Sols made at Detroit, but the wily Indian kept to himself what was going on some thirty leagues away. The first warning that there was something afoot came to the commandant in April 1702, through Father Mermet. Five Miami were on their way to the English to buy merchandise These Indians had received from the Iroquois wampum belts, asking that they allow the English to establish a post at or near Fort Wayne From this place, the Miami will be able to trade with the French or the English, playing the ones against the others. Quarante Sols was the moving spirit of the whole scheme; he had long harbored a grudge against the Ottawa, and had even said that the French, who had thus far prevented him from taking revenge on the Ottawa, might find the English more accomodating. Cadillac was warned; it was for him to see what measures to take to thwart the plans of the Indian.[16]

The note appended to this letter shows the conceit of M. de Lamothe. There is not a word of truth in the letter of Mermet, he says, because first, Quarante Sols instead of going elsewhere was already established at Detroit; second, the embassy of the Miami to the English is a myth; and third, while Alexander had to cut the Gordian knot, he, Cadillac unravelled it. Here is what the commandant said happened:

> Two captains, Messrs de la Forest and Tonti, arranged a meeting at Michilimackinac in July 1701, and, with the connivance of the Jesuits there, hatched a scheme to begin a settlement on the St. Joseph River with a view of wrecking the Detroit post. This is the only reason why the missionaries of Michilimackinac told the Indians to go and settle there. It was then decided that this Father Mermet and Father Aveneau would sound the alarm

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[14] Margry, 5: 272, note 2.
[15] AC, C 11E, 14: 97v–98.
[16] Mermet to Cadillac, April 19, 1702, Margry, 5: 219 ff..

and warn M. de Lamothe. The Jesuits were sure of the support of M. de Champigny and the two officers of that of M. de Callières. All this was done to force the governor general to send a strong garrison to the Miami and begin a post there under the pretext that the English were coming.[17]

The "Gordian knot" was not unravelled for two reasons: first, no meeting was arranged at Michilimackinac in July, 1701, for when the convoy left Montreal, Cadillac did not know, any more than Tonti, that the latter would be sent to Michilimackinac to buy some much needed wheat; second, nobody ever dreamt of founding a post on the St. Joseph River. What Callières did say to Chichikatalo was that he should, for greater protection, gather all his men in one place.

With the breaking of the ice, Cadillac resumed his correspondence with the Michilimackinac missionaries. He wrote to Marest telling him that he would like to know the time when Marest and Carheil would come to Detroit. Callières, says Cadillac, had written to Detroit that Marest was to accompany "our Indians"; and Father Bouvart had also written, hoping that the two Michilimackinac Jesuits had by this time gone to Detroit.[18] "However, if what the Indians told me is true, it appears that you have sentiments much opposed to those of M. de Callières and of your Father superior." He then goes on to report what the Indians had said in the Detroit councils. He felt it his duty to inform the governor general of all this, for he wanted to tread "the path of righteousness and sincerity," and hoped that Marest would take the warning in good part. "It is for Father Carheill to see if he used such language, which would be very contrary to the intentions of the king, of the governor general and of Reverend Father Bouvart."[19]

Cadillac seems to forget that Callières had told nothing of the kind, but that the missionaries were to follow the Indians if these chose to move. It was still the same story as last autumn, he wished to force the Indians to come to Detroit and could find no better way than depriving them of their missionaries. By now, however, Marest knew how to handle Cadillac. He plainly told the commandant that he had no account whatsoever to render him. Something much more urgent was taking place near Fort Wayne, about which Mermet had written to him. After a warning of this importance, Marest recommends to Cadillac not "to fix his mind" on the Jesuits, but to direct his attention to the conduct of those near him, in particular to the conduct of Quarante Sols. The commandant had tried to entice Mikinak—who brought the letter of Marest—to move to Detroit, but the Indian had refused, although he was under great obligations to Cadillac. Mikinak, reasoned the missionary, must have had strong motives for declining the invitation.

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[17] *Ibid.*, 22.

[18] Bouvart to Cadillac, April 20, 1702, *ibid.*, 223.

[19] Cadillac to Marest, May 2, 1702, *ibid.*, 224 ff.

> For the rest, the Indians, having seen the quality of the land at Detroit, and having found, as they say, that there is no fishing there or very little, being moreover convinced that game will soon disappear as more people are gathered at the post, are coming to the conclusion, which it will not be in our power to change, not to move to Detroit. It would not be just to impute to us a crime, which we are unable to change, although we do not lack the will.[20]

Marest's letter nearly took the breath away from the commandant. "This manner of writing to M. de Lamothe, who is his commandant, is too haughty; it is the sign of a mind swollen with pride that cannot endure authority." Cadillac was no more the commandant of Marest than he was the commandant of the Jesuits in Quebec. Instead of making remarks at the end of this letter, he wrote directly to Father Marest.

His rank, he says, does not permit him to accuse, but to judge and condemn on evidence confirmed by the "voice of the people." He has passed conditional judgment, for he had written "if" what the Indians had said was true, then the missionaries were guilty. Cadillac then undertakes the defense of Quarante Sols, and simply denies his intrigues. He goes even farther: "I do not know whether his case concerning the alliance which he is said to contemplate with the enemies of the state is so black after all, but I know that all the circumstances reported to me are in no way connected with such an alliance." To say the least, this is rather a strange language coming from the commandant of a post, for another post established at Fort Wayne would certainly ruin that founded on the Strait. After saying that he did not make any great efforts to have Mikinak move his tent to Detroit, he continues:

> Finally, I do not understand what bad mist or bad influence can have changed the quality of the soil of Detroit this year [1702], since all the memoirs written by the Reverend Fathers of your Society, by all the French and by all the Indians, have spoken of it as the promised land of North America. The sun must have changed its path as a sign that it disapproves of this establishment. I may tell you, however, that this autumn I have had wheat sown which promises a very fine harvest; that I have had some sown this spring which will yield a little less; and that all our Indian

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[20] Marest to Cadillac, May 30, 1702, *ibid.*, 227 ff.

> corn, although sown in a hurry, is coming along beautifully. So I do not care about the quality of the soil, provided it produces abundant crops and fine fruits.[21]

We would like to know who wrote the memoirs mentioned in this letter; we would also like to know whether any Jesuit, except Father Vaillant, had gone to Detroit; and finally we would like to know who were the Frenchmen who had spoken so highly of the quality of the soil at Detroit. In a memoir written about this time, we hear a different story from men who had actually been there.

> By the acts of the assembly [of the shareholders of the Company of the Colony], by the testimony of Sieurs de la Forest and de Courtemanche, who are both well acquainted with Detroit, for they have been there, and by the testimony of Sieur Babie who has just returned from Detroit, it appears that this country is worthless: there are only about thirty or forty acres cleared where almost nothing grows, although the soil is new, and only about forty huts of Indians, who are forced to go more than forty leagues to find game. To enable people at the post to subsist, canoes must be sent 120 leagues in one direction and more than 200 leagues in another, to procure Indian corn at Michilimackinac and Green Bay.
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> The above description is quite different from that given by Sieur de Lamothe when he proposed to found this post. How could he have spoken truthfully? He had never been there when he handed in his memoir, which was nothing else than a picture he had painted to himself from what he had heard people say.[22]

This was written in 1703, before Cadillac became proprietor of Detroit. As can be seen the picture agrees with what the Indians had told Callières, as well as with what Mikinak said to Marest, and with every report not dictated by the commandant. At the end of his letter to Marest, Cadillac said:

> I thought that I had satisfied you by commencing a settlement where no brandy was to be sold. I had firmly resolved, to please you and to stop you from crying so much, strictly to enforce the prohibition, but I see that the old leaven has become so sour that it can no longer make the dough rise.[23]

Shortly before this letter was written, Cadillac received another one from Father Aveneau.[24] This Jesuit had read to the Miami the letter he had received from Callières inviting the Indians to go to Detroit. In the spring of 1702, he had again reminded them of the letter of the governor, adding that "if they went to Detroit, I would not fail to go with them, for I do not wish to abandon them."

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[21] Cadillac to Marest, [June], 1702, *ibid.*, 231 f.

[22] Estat present des affaires de la Compagnie de la Colonie du Canada, AC, C 11A, 22: 101.

[23] Cadillac to Marest, [June], 1702, Margry, 5: 234.

[24] On this Jesuit, see Rochemonteix, *Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle-France au XVII^e siècle*, 3: 479, note 2.

The Miami, however, having thought the matter over, feared that there would be too many people at Detroit. The only attraction was the hope held out to them that goods would be sold more cheaply that was usual among the French.[25] Unfortunately, during the first year at Detroit, there was no merchandise at all at the post, and even if there had been some, we suspect that Cadillac would have sold it as dearly as he could. He had not come to Detroit for his health, and did not care a straw about the Indians.

In his annotation to this letter, Cadillac flatly denied that Aveneau had invited the Miami to go to Detroit, because he had been warned to the contrary "by Frenchmen who were there." Among these Frenchmen was La Forest, who did not know the Miami language. Cadillac admits, however, that Callières had said in Montreal that he would be very much pleased if all the Miami were to go to the St. Joseph River; but he adds: "The letter written by the governor to invite the Miami to go to Detroit was of a later date." What the date of this subsequent letter is, he does not say. The first news that came from Lower Canada, is the letter of July 18, 1702, that is, more than a month after the letter written by Aveneau. Needless to say that Callières later letter did not countermand his invitation, for Cadillac himself says that the "contrariness" of the governor as well as the opposition of the missionaries prevented the Miami from going to Detroit.[26]

On June 27, 1702, a last council supposedly took place at Detroit before Cadillac left for Quebec. The commandant made presents to Miamensa, the father of the Miami chief who had died in Montreal, and punctuated each gift with a short speech.

> By this tobacco, I exhort you, Miamensa, not to forget what you are about to hear. I thought that the Black Robe [Father Aveneau] who is now in your village, had told you the words of Onontio; but since he has not, and since he had has changed them, I declare to you from Onontio that he wants [veut] all your nation to remove its fire and come here to kindle it near mine. Tell my words to your people and listen to no one speaking otherwise; I am the only one who knows the mind of the governor.

To this Miamensa answered:

> When my father [Cadillac] has pity on me, when he gives me land at Detroit, when he binds me to this place, then I shall move my fire here. I am glad to hear these words, for nothing of the kind had been told us. On the contrary, the Black Robe and M. de la Forest told us in the council to remain in our village, and that they were going to build great lodgings.[27]

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[25] Aveneau to Cadillac, June 4, 1702, Margry, 5: 239 ff.
[26] *Ibid.*, 272, note 2.
[27] *Ibid.*, 283.

We may note that the answer of Miamensa is non-committal. An Ottawa chief, Koussikouet, is reported to have said: "You are to come here very late to dance the calumet since it will not be until this autumn. It would be well if you were to come and dance it this summer." In a note to this speech Cadillac says that Father Aveneau and even M. de la Forest were ready to wreck Detroit. "All of this refers to the plot of the month of July [1701] hatched at Michilimackinac between the Jesuits of that place and these two officers," namely, Tonti and La Forest. .

During the whole epistolary battle between Cadillac and the Jesuits, Father de Carheil did not write to the commandant, except for a letter acknowledging one of July 25, 1701. Carheil had been the protagonist in the Michilimackinac disputes over the unrestricted sale of brandy to the Indians, but he had doubtless come to the conclusion that it was useless to argue with Cadillac, who was always "interpreting the intentions of the king" or who had special "instructions from his superior officers" approving in advance whatever came to his mind.[28] Carheil, however, wrote to Tonti, who was not as unpractical as Cadillac. Tonti was a business man who cared nothing for the frenchification scheme, or the governorship, or the marquisate of Cadillac; for though these frills made a hero out of Cadillac, he did not believe in them himself.

Tonti had handed Carheil's letter over to Cadillac, because the latter had "overlooked a great fault," and was going to show it to Callières. The Jesuit wrote that he was not in the least disturbed by the outcries of the Indians, that is, of Quarante Sols and his followers.

> In the past, I have heard similar outcries on the part of the French, and I am so accustomed to hear them that I cannot be surprised at those which I hear nowadays on the part of the Indians . . . The outcries of the French have died away harming no one but those who raised them. I hope that these outcries will in time die away in the same manner.

All these outcries, continued Carheil, came from the fact that *on* [*i.e., Cadillac*] misinterpreted the instructions of the king. What His Majesty's intention were had been made clear to the missionaries of Michilimackinac in all the letters they had received from the governor general, the intendant, and their superior of Quebec; namely, they were to follow the Indians if these chose to migrate to Detroit. *On,* that is, Cadillac, was trying to create confusion by speaking of "orders" received by the missionaries or given to the

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[28] "Antoine Laumet, *alias* Cadillac, Commandant at Michilimackinac: 1694–1697," MID-AMERICA, 27 (1945) : 195 ff.

Indians to move to Detroit whether these wished it or not. "The impossibility of my being at Michilimackinac with those who remained there and at Detroit with those whom *on* [namely, Cadillac] attracted there is no reason for crying out against me, unless they want me to be in two places at the same time." Moreover, it was not necessary to be in such a hurry, for a permanent migration such as the moving of the Michilimackinac mission to Detroit required preparations.

The missionaries were surprised that no mention was made in letters coming from Detroit "of a very important piece of news which our Father among the Miami notified us that they had communicated to M. de Lamothe by a messenger sent to him for that very purpose." At Michilimackinac they knew no more than what Fathers Mermet and Aveneau had written about the scheme of Quarante Sols. They had notified Cadillac; yet

> seeing what is going on in regard to ourselves, we do not know whether it would not be better for our own safety to say nothing than to expose ourselves to the danger of being once more accused of spreading false reports to the Indians. Indeed, *on* [viz. Cadillac] turns everything into accusations and procès-verbaux against our ministry, which is what is resented; but they resent it in vain, for we shall never fail to perform our functions, come what may.[29]

The effect produced by this letter on the irascible commandant can easily be imagined. He chose to see in it a plot to have him recalled and replaced by Tonti. In the note to this letter, Cadillac gives the following "unanswerable" alternative: what Carheil says about the intentions of the king is either true or false. "If it is true, the governor general, the intendant, and the Jesuit superior have worked together to ruin M. de Lamothe and destroy Detroit. If it is false, it is an imposture of Father de Carheil who is calumniating these gentlemen and even his own superior." What Carheil had written was true. Callières had "invited" the Indians to Detroit, but Cadillac chose to look upon this invitation as a positive order. He had obtained this letter of Carheil from Tonti after his return from Quebec, and knew that no order forcing the Indians and the Jesuits to migrate have been given by the king, or the minister, or by Callières; for Cadillac had just spent a month with the latter.

"Moreover, it would seem that this Father is suffering from a high fever, especially when he says that *on* [*i.e.,* Cadillac] turns everything into accusation and procès-verbaux against their functions. Where are those procès-verbaux? Assuredly they must be in his own imagination." These procès-verbaux were not in Carheil's imagination, but were then, and are still now in the French archieves. The Jesuit is evidently referring to the lawsuit which Cadillac wished to bring against Father Nouvel because Father Pinet had used the word "misconduct" in a sermon.[30] Two months after this letter, Carheil wrote to Champigny that the commandant had gone so far "as to make civil charges and grounds for pretended juridical accusations, because we perform the functions of our ministry. This has always been done by M. de Lamothe who would not even allow the use of the word "disorder" and would brought suit against our superior for having used it."[31]

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[29] Carheil to Tonti, June 17, 1702, Margry, 5: 235 ff.

As we noted above, Cadillac was unaware that the monopoly of trade had been granted to the Company of the Colony; only on July 18, 1702, did he receive the news from Callières.

> On July 21, M. de Lamothe left Fort Pontchartrain for Quebec, where he made a contract with the Company of the Colony. The latter pledged itself to feed him and his whole family and to pay him a yearly salary of 2,000 livres . . . The same contract states that Sieur Tonti and his family shall also be fed, and that he will be paid 1,303 livres annually.[32]

The details of the Quebec meeting are set down in a long letter of Cadillac to Pontchartrain.[33] It begins with a description of the Detroit country. Although he had been cautioned by the minister to write truthfully, he soon forgot himself, exaggerating, inventing, and in general painting a very poetic picture of Detroit and its surrounding. The plums, for instance, are very large and like the fruit of the tree of the garden of Eden, "very pleasant to look at"; one shot brings down twenty or thirty turkeys; in brief, this country "may justly be called the earthly paradise of North America."[34] The above statement cannot be proved to be exaggerated, because we lack independent evidence by which they could be checked. There are many other statements of his however, which can be controlled by other sources.

A few items are worth a passing comment, before we proceed to Cadillac account of the Quebec letter. We shall mention only three points: the extent of land cleared, the number of Indians at

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[30] "Antoine Laumet . . . at Michilimackinac," *loc. cit.*, 189 ff.

[31] Carheil to Champigny, August 30, 1702, JR, 65: 200.

[32] Margry, 5: 284.

[33] Cadillac to Pontchartrain, September 25, 1702, MPHS, 33: 133 ff. —For the translation of this letter, see "Antoine Laumet . . . at Michilimackinac," *loc. cit.*, 125, note 50.

[34] Annexed to this description was a plan of Detroit and a map of the Strait. I have not found either of these documents.

Detroit and the number of white settlers there. When he left Detroit on July 21, 1702, Cadillac says, twenty acres of land had been cleared, and the Hurons had 200 acres ready for cultivation. Now, six years later, in 1708, there were in all 353 acres, of which Cadillac had 157, all cleared by Indians and soldiers; the settlers had cleared 46 acres and the Hurons 150 acres.[35]

In 1701, nearly 6,000 Indians of different tribes wintered at Detroit, "as every one knows"; and what is more, Cadillac fed them all. How he managed this is a mystery, for "every one knew" that the provisions had all been consumed on the way, and that Tonti had to go to Michilimackinac and to Fort Frontenac to buy "some refreshments." In 1704, Cadillac wrote to Pontchartrain that there were more than 2,000 Indians at Detroit.[36] What became of the other four thousand is not said. By 1708, the number had dwindled to 1,200.[37] Of the original 6,000 Indians, 400 were able to bear arms. Cadillac does not explain how, with his army of Indians, he kept asking for 200 soldiers; or, rather, it is clear that most of the original soldiers deserted or went back to Montreal; in 1704, there were only fourteen soldiers left.[38]

As for the white settlers, the numbers vary greatly. In 1706, Cadillac wrote that there were 216 persons at Detroit;[39] and in the following year, Riverin, a friend of Cadillac, wrote from Paris that there were 270 persons, including twenty-five families.[40] In 1708, the king writing to Vaudreuil and the two Raudots,[41] said that there were 120 French houses *within* the fort; and a few months later, Cadillac asked that five or six hundred inhabitants and troops in proportion be sent to Detroit.[42] All the above information originated in Detroit, but in this same year we have the testimony of an inspector, named D'Aigremont, who tells a very different story "The whole of the inhabitants of Detroit," writes D'Aigremont, "numbered sixty-three. They have taken land within the fort, and have built small houses of stakes plastered with mud and thatched with grass. Of these sixty-three inhabitants, only twenty-nine have taken land, for the other—except the officers, Rané, d'Argenteuil, and Figuier—are only at Detroit for trading purposes." And in a note, he added: "These twenty-nine ought not to be regarded as settlers, for they are married soldiers, most of whom remain at Detroit perforce; they are still performing soldiers' duty and mount guard like the rest."[43]

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[35] D'Aigremont to Pontchartrain, November 14, 1708, MPHS, 33: 145.

[36] Cadillac to Pontchartrain, November 14, 1704, *ibid.*, 205.

[37] Louis XIV to Vaudreuil and the Raudots, June 6, 1708, RAPQ, 1940, 413.—These officials seem to have misunderstood what the king wrote, see Vaudreuil and the Raudots to Pontchartrain, November 14, 1708, *ibid.*, 455.

[38] Cadillac to Pontchartrain, November 14, 1704, MPHS, 33: 233.

[39] Cadillac to Pontchartrain, August 30, 1706, AC, C 11A, 24: 195.

[40] Riverin to Pontchartrain, April 11, 1707, MPHS, 33: 316.

[41] Louis XIV to Vaudreuil and the Raudots, June 6, RAPQ, 1940, 413.

[42] Cadillac to Pontchartrain, September 15, 1708, MPHS, 33: 390. The minister wrote in the margin: "True, but impossible; make him understand the absurdity of it."

The rest of the letter of Cadillac to Pontchartrain deals with his adventures in Quebec to which we shall now return. After giving an account of Detroit at the end of the first year, Cadillac suggests how to improve the settlement by means of his frenchification scheme for the Indians. He also wanted a subsidy to make them presents. But we have reasons to believe that if Cadillac had obtained a subsidy, instead of making presents, he would have pocketed the money. As might have been expected, his letter includes unfavorable comments on the missionaries, that is, on the Jesuits. They had inveighed against the brandy trade carried on at Michilimackinac, because, he says, it is an insuperable obstacle to the propagation of the faith; also because of the bad example given by the French, the multiplication of congés, and the excessive hunting in the woods. To obviate the last evil, "you found no better expedient, my Lord, than to form a post" in a place where land was fertile. "All Canada agreed that Detroit was the most suitable place." The post will do away with all these evils, and it would seem that the Jesuits should come and settle at Detroit. "But it appears that they have found the secret of remaining [at Michilimackinac] without witnesses, which is the object of all their desires."

The last item is as old as New France. The Jesuits had no fear of witnesses, but they objected to commandants using their position to foster the brandy trade, or to introduce it where it did not exist before. "All Canada" did not agree that the Detroit was the most suitable place for the new post, and the implication that it is a populous center is simply ridiculous.

What Cadillac wanted most of all was to force the Jesuits to break up the mission at Michilimackinac. The irony of the situation is that, when Cadillac finally left Detroit in 1711, another commandant was sent to the old mission. The extent of his phobia for the post on the northern strait may be seen from the conference which he describes in this letter in the presence, of Callières, Champigny, Father Bouvart, D'Auteuil, Lotbinière and Beauharnois, the new intendant. As in the case of the Detroit councils, we have no other account of this conference, but the letter of Cadillac. Unintentionally, however, he shows that he had attributed to the missionaries an interpretation of the instructions previously sent by Callières to the Jesuits of Michilimackinac.

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[43] D'Aigremont to Pontchartrain, November 14, 1708, MPHS, 33: 426, 428. Cf. Vaudreuil and the Raudots to Pontchartrain, November 14, 1708, RAPQ, 1940, 455, and see supra, note 22, the testimony of La Forest, Courtemanche and Babie.

In the opening sentence, he says: "It appeared to me, my Lord, that your intention in establishing Detroit was to bring the tribes together there, and chiefly those of Michilimackinac." This was Cadillac's intention, not Pontchartrain's. In the plan which Champigny chose—that of Charron—there was nothing about bringing the Indians of Michilimackinac to Detroit. In the preceding year, Cadillac had wangled from Father Bouvart a promise that Fathers de Marest and de Carheil would be sent to Detroit. He next quotes d'Auteuil, the representative of the Company of the Colony, as saying that if the moving of the Indians takes place, the Company will defray all expenses. D'Auteuil then supposedly gives a tirade against Michilimackinac, representing it as a den of iniquity, and wondering why the missionaries there do not complain against the disorders which are taking place at the old mission. "This attack," says Cadillac, "hit this Reverend Father [Bouvart] so hard that it took his breath away."

Now, at the very time when D'Auteuil was taking Father Bouvart's breath away, Carheil's letter of August 30, 1702, was on its way to Quebec. This letter, addressed to Champigny before the latter left for France, contained an indictment against the abominations, the disorderly conduct and the scandals which had gone on at Michilimackinac ever since the time of M. de Lamothe.[44]

Cadillac's letter further expatiates on the obnoxiousness of the mission, concluding that "to break it up and take it to Detroit would be a work worthy of the glory of the king, of religion, and of the welfare of the missions." He professes to be scandalized at the missionaries receiving into their houses goods and beaver pelts "of the fugitive rebels." There was really no grounds for being scandalized. For years the attic of the chapel of Michilimackinac and the house of the Jesuits there had been used as warehouses, because they were the only safe places in the wilderness; and he conveniently forgets that, only a few years earlier, the "fugitive rebels" were protected by himself if they paid for protection.

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[44] Carheil to Champigny, August 30, 1702, JR, 65: 200.

Next comes Cadillac's version of Champigny's reply. The latter was on the eve of his return to France, and Cadillac knew that he would see Pontchartrain, hence greater caution was necessary. When orders were given to establish Detroit, Champigny is quoted as saying, the king made no mention of Michilimackinac, but merely instructed Callières and Champigny to take what was best from the memorandum of Charron and from that of Cadillac; so he took that of Charron. Cadillac brushes aside these statements of Champigny, by saying that they were the same objections which he had raised against the founding of Detroit. Yet, Cadillac is forced to admit that Callières simply said that "he could not force the Indians to settle at Detroit if they did not wish to do so, and that to take the missionaries away from the natives amounted to compelling them to go by force."

As can be seen, there was nothing in the instructions that could be construed as "orders" from Callières. Cadillac, however, claims to have answered Champigny, that the king's intention were evident: the other posts should be broken up. In fact, he says, he had received explicit orders from Pontchartrain to that effect, for success at Detroit "depends on bringing the tribes together at this post, and especially those of Michilimackinac." All that Callières had actually instructed him to do was to "invite" the Indians; and all that Champigny ever said, was that it was not his plan but which was chosen, but Charron's. As for the supposed orders of Pontchartrain, there is not a word in his letters which "enjoins" him to bring the Indians, "especially those of Michilimackinac," to Detroit.

D'Auteuil, the letter continues, then asked why did not the missionaries move to Detroit, thus forcing the Indians to follow them? This was precisely what neither Callières, nor Champigny, nor any responsible individual wanted. But Cadillac taking his cue from D'Auteuil said: "The missionaries are not the Indians' slaves . . . it is for them to tell the Indians that they are going to a desirable land." But Detroit was not a desirable land, the Indians themselves had seen it under water. At this point Beauharnois said: "If His Majesty has so much at heart the migration of the Indians, why does he not make a grant to move the whole Michilimackinac missions to Detroit?" Cadillac knew very well that the king would make no further grant. Hence his answer to Beauharnois: "You have heard that, as regards the mission of Michilimackinac, the Company of the Colony would bear the expense if the governor thought fit to remove the mission to Detroit." For a man who knew so well what the intention of the king and of the minister were, this is very strange. Had there not been "orders" to move the mission to Detroit? And if such orders had come from Paris, how could Callières "think fit" to tell the Indians and the missionaries to go to Detroit? They would have had no alternative; the Indians might want to stay at Michilimackinac, but the missonaries would have to go to Detroit.

As we saw, Cadillac had insinuated a few pages earlier that the reason why the missionaries wanted to be alone was that they traded in the distant posts. The Company's offer to bear the expense of the transfer to Detroit was made on the grounds that the Jesuits did no trading. Thereupon Cadillac said:

> I replied that I did not accuse the Jesuits of trading, but many abuses went on among the people who brought them wine and hosts for their masses, and their boats are laden with heavy loads of goods. A hundred men who were with me have seen these hired men, who go to the farthest parts of the woods, there to engage in trade. Why, some even had the impudence to come within a day's journey from Detroit, and I informed the governor and the intendant of it.

The charge of illicit trading has been refuted so often that it hardly seems worth while to refute it anew. The first direct accusation at this period is that of D'Auteuil, a hypochondriac who was against practically everybody in Canada. The Jesuits as tutors of the Indians had a concession at Sillery which had apparently not been ratified by the king. In a law suit which they won, D'Auteuil claims, these Fathers obtained from the Sovereign Council half the seignory of Duchesnay, one of their neighbors. Not only do they take real estate but movables also. For instance, they are engaged openly in trade in the Ottawa country, where under the pretext of supplying their personal needs, they made, last year, more than 16,000 livres "not to speak of other trading operations."[45]

Pontchartrain, unwilling to let this accusation pass, asked D'Auteuil for an explanation.[46] He also wrote to Raudot, the new intendant, asking to investigate the matter.[47] Some kind of an answer was sent by D'Auteuil in the following year. He was speaking, he said of the trade in the Ottawa country,

> which is public and against which everybody grumbles. Since it has been forbidden to trade in the woods, the Jesuits' canoes have been used by merchants and voyageurs to go to Michilimackinac where they trade heavily. Each year one sees these canoes come back loaded with beaver pelts. Can

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[45] D'Auteuil to Pontchartrain, November 15, 1704, RAPQ, 1923, 13.
[46] Pontchartrain to D'Auteuil, June 17, 1705, AC, B 27; 81.
[47] *Id.* to Raudot, July 1, 1705, *ibid.*, 99.

> we believe that others than these Fathers themselves are trading, when it is forbidden to everyone else.[48]

"Peut-on juger que ce soit d'autres qu'eux qui fassent ce commerce?" D'Auteuil's only proof of his charge is another question, which Pontchartrain could not answer. The true explanation was given by Raudot.

> I have inquired, my Lord, as to what might have laid the Jesuit Fathers open to the suspicion of trading in beaver pelts, as they are accused of doing. What has given rise to the accusation is that they are obliged to make use of hired men to bring the canoes conveying their provisions as well as the other things they need for their mission. Notwithstanding all the precautions taken, these hired men cannot be prevented from taking goods on their own account, which they trade in for their own profit, and as they take such goods in the canoes belonging to these Fathers, people will have it that it is they who carry on this trade.[49]

The real question of course was whether the Jesuits themselves were trading for profit. One day, Raudot asked Cadillac this question. The latter answered that the hired men traded publicly, and that he "would even cite a letter from one of the Fathers, that they did so."[50] The Jesuits had also heard this rumor and investigated it. It seems that two men who went to the Ottawa country, Desruisseaux and Des Pins *dit* Lemoine, had, "unknown to the Fathers," taken merchandise which they sold for seven or eight thousand livres.[51] Vaudreuil and the two Raudots writing to the minister gave the following explanation.

> The Jesuit Fathers, my Lord, never did carry on any trade in the Ottawa country and they must assuredly be exempt from such a suspicion; but the men who bring their provisions to the mission do trade. When the Jesuit Fathers told you that what had given rise to the rumor was that the men called Desruisseaux and Des Pins had, unknown to them, brought merchandise, they should have said that it was with their permission; for the merchandise which they allow those who bring them needed supplies is a sort of payment for the canoes and their wages during the whole voyage. From the time of Messrs Frontenac, Denonville and Callières, such has always been the custom here: those who bring the provisions for the missionaries, Jesuits and others, have always taken enough merchandise to pay for their voyage. We must observe here, that what the king gives for these missions is not even sufficient for the keep of the missionaries, and they could never stand the expense if they had to pay the men, for

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[48] D'Auteuil to Pontchartrain, November 17, 1705, RAPQ, 1923, 21.

[49] Raudot to Pontchartrain, November 19, 1705, MPHS, 33: 249.

[50] Cadillac to Pontchartrain, November 20, 1705, AC, C 11A, 23: 154.

[51] Louis XIV to Vaudreuil and the Raudots, June 6, 1706, AC, B 27: 220.

there is not a canoe which does not cost them one hundred pistoles to bring to the mission.

This joint letter then goes on to explain the case of the two men mentioned by the Jesuits. It was not clear whether all beaver pelts had been acquired during the voyage. Des Pins had been paid for these pelts in letters of exchange, and it would ruin the merchants if these letters were protested; moreover, Des Pins had thought that what he did was permitted. As for Desruisseaux, there is no record of his having brought any pelts to Quebec. "Those who carried the provisions for the Priests of the Foreign Missions may have done the same as Des Pins and Desruisseaux, but they did not bring any beaver pelts, for their canoe capsized at Sault St. Louis; they lost everything and one man was drowned."[52]

In the two following years, the king wrote that the carrying of merchandise to the missionaries, over and above their needs, must stop, but he made no suggestion as to how the voyage of the carriers was to be financed.[53] Finally, D'Aigremont, in his report of 1708, wrote that a large quantity of goods was being taken to Michilimackinac by the canoes bringing the provisions to the missionaries; the Jesuits had no share in the trading, for the merchandise belonged to the canoemen and this was done with the approval and under the authority of the governor general.[54]

After this long digression on the Jesuits' trade, little more needs to be said about Cadillac's letter of September 25, 1702. He goes on to say ask the minister to erect Detroit into a province independent of Quebec and to appoint himself as governor, for if he waits until Detroit is a perfect town, "I shall be made governor at an age when popes are made." In fact, he foresees so many delays that he is asking, "with great mortification," to be appointed town major of Quebec. He would naturally prefer to be commandant at Detroit, provided he had jurisdiction over all the posts of in the Ottawa country. This last statement, incidentally, proves that he never had any jurisdiction over Father Marest, as he claimed.

> You seem to wish that the Jesuits should be my friends. This is also my wish, but as the quarrel dates from the time of the late Count de Frontenac, and as they have good memories, I do not think that they will forget the past, whatever I might do to attain that end. Their attitude, however, will not prevent me from treating them with great regard and respect. All

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[52] Vaudreuil and the Raudots to Pontchartrain, November 13, 1706, RAPQ, 1939, 153.

[53] Louis XIV to Vaudreuil and Raudot, June 30, 1707, RAPQ, 1940, 361; *id.* to Vaudreuil, June 6, 1708, *ibid.*, 410.

[54] D'Aigremont to Pontchartrain, 1708, November 14, MPHS, 33: 451.

our quarrels have arisen from their opposition to the orders of the king, which I know how to maintain and to carry out.

The controversy here referred to between Cadillac and the Jesuits at the time of Frontenac actually originated from the Jesuits' opposition to a faked ordinance of Frontenac to the commandant. From now on, he goes on to say, the Jesuits and himself will work together harmoniously, for an agreement had been signed in Quebec by Callières, Bouvart and Cadillac. The Jesuits will have no more complaints against him nor he against them. "If, therefore, anything is brought to you directly or indirectly, I beg of you to pay no attention to it, for the agreement just concluded puts an end to it all."

Commenting on this agreement, Rochemonteix notes: "In reading this contract, one asks oneself how Father Bouvart and Germain could have signed it. Did they not go too far in their desire for peace? At any rate, they must not have known much about the state of affairs in the Ottawa country, or they must not have known M. de Lamothe very well."[55]

Since the document was signed not by Father Germain but by Father Bouvart, we shall add a few details about the latter. He arrived in Canada in 1673, and after two years at Sillery, went to Quebec where he remained thirty years, from 1676 to his death in 1705.[56] In 1698, he was made superior of all the Jesuit missions in New France. He was a good, pious, zealous, learned priest, but was no match for Cadillac.[57] He wanted peace at all costs and was ready to sacrifice his subjects and the rights of his order to those who threatened to make trouble.[58] He was conscious however, of his limitations, and asked to be relieved from the superiorship after three years.[59] He evidently did not know Cadillac, for at the very time when he was sending the commandant of Detroit letters of congratulations and good wishes, the latter was writing malevolent letters to Paris. Not until Father Marest came to Quebec in 1703, did Bouvart finally realize the situation; when Marest made known that the Indians of Michilimackinac were absolutely opposed to leave the post, nothing more was heard about the agreement of September 1702. A study of this agreement, which is found among the correspondence with the Ottawa country, will throw further light on its contents.

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[55] Rochemontex, *Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle-France au XVII*^{e} *siècle*, 3: 522.

[56] Jesuit Catalogues for these years. Rochemonteix, *op. cit.*, 3: 294, note 4, and 372, note 2.

[57] "Equidem doctrinâ praestat estque sanctissimae vitae." Raffeix to Thyrsus González, November 7, 1700, Jesuit Archives, Rome, *Gallia*, 110 I, 79.

[58] Cf. Bouvart to Thyrsus González, September 14, 1699, *ibid.*, II, 81. "Et jam ad hoc R. P. Sup^{or} [Bouvart] pro nimia sua facilitate et ad complacendum propensione manus dedisset, ni consultores obstitissent, dicendo rem Instituto nostro adeo repugnantem, & nobis summi hac in regione [Canada] momenti ad Majorum Superiorum judicium esse referendam." Silvy to *id.*, *ibid.*, 246. "Nimia est . . . faciliate R^{us} Pater Rector: in multis et magni Interdum momenti dat manus facile. Unum videtur intendere, nimirum placere." Raffeix to *id.*, November 7, 1700, *ibid.*, I, 79.

[59] Bouvart to *id.*, October 14, 1699, *ibid.*, II, 247.

Agreement made by M. the Chevalier de Callières, governor general. Between Reverend Father Bouvart, Superior of the Jesuits in Canada, accompanied by Reverend Father Germain, and Sieur de Lamothe Cadillac, commandant at Detroit, with regard to the complaints which he made against several missionaries.

1^0) [In virtue of this agreement] all the Jesuits said Sieur de Lamothe will forget the latter's complaints and neither he nor they will henceforth speak or write to the Court or to anybody else about them in any manner and under any pretext whatsoever.

2^0) The missionaries who are in the Ottawa country and in other distant posts, far from preventing the Indians from coming to Detroit, will urge them as strongly as possible to settle there.

3^0) Reverend Father Marest, superior at Michilimackinac, will go to Detroit next spring and minister to the Ottawa Indians there.

4^0) Reverend Father Garnier will also go to Detroit next spring to minister to the Hurons.

5^0) All the missionaries in the Ottawa country will obey the orders which Sieur de Lamothe will give them on the king's behalf, and they will not prevent their execution either by the French or by the Indians. They will not oppose these orders either directly or indirectly, under any pretext whatsoever, but will have the right to appeal to the governor general.

6^0) If some private dispute should arise between the missionaries and Sieut de Lamothe, both parties will submit it to M. the Chevalier de Callières, and will abide by his decision, and send no complaints to the Court.

7^0) The missionaries on the spot will communicate whatever complaints they may have to Sieur de Lamothe and the latter will communicate his to them; failing which, all the compaints will be considered as null and rejected by M. the Chevalier de Callières.

8^0) This autumn, the Reverend Jesuit Fathers will send a signed copy of the present agreement to the superior of the missionaries at Michilimackinac, who will communicate it to all the Fathers of their Society who are in the missions.

9°) Sieur de Lamothe will take a copy of the agreement and will conform himself to it.

10°) Another copy will remain in the hands of M. the Chevalier de Callières, and a copy in those of Reverend Father Bouvart. Done in the castle of Quebec, the twenty-fifth day of September, one thousand seventeen hundred and two.

Le Cher Decallieres M. Bouvart D. L. C. D. J., Lamothe Cadillac.[60]

On reading this document we can see why Cadillac wrote to Marest that he "willingly submitted" to such an agreement.[61] "There is not," answered Marest, "any submission for you, it is all on our side.[62] The preamble itself shows this: there is nothing about the complaints of the missionaries, but it is all about those which he, Cadillac, made against them. Article 2 is an indirect accusation against Carheil and Marest, based on the false assumption that they had effectively prevented the Indians from going to Detroit. On a copy of the agreement annoted by Cadillac and Champigny, Cadillac wrote: "This [second] article shows that the Jesuits have done all they could to prevent the Indians from coming to Detroit."[63] Champigny's note opposite reads: "I do not believe that it proves what Sieur de Lamothe contends; to prove his point it would have been necessary to say that the Jesuits will no longer do what they did in the past." It has been sufficiently shown that the Jesuits of Michilimackinac waited to see what the Indians would decide, and these were soon to reassert their unwillingness to go to Detroit.

According to article 3, Marest was to go to Detroit, and since there was no other Jesuit msisionary to take his place, the Ottawa Indians had the choice of following Marest or of being abandoned by him. Cadillac knew that this was the most efficient means to obtain what he had so much at heart: the closing of the Michilimackinac mission. In his annotation to this article, Cadillac says: "This article has not been executed"; and Champigny confessed that he did not know why Marest went to Quebec instead of to Detroit; as we have seen, Marest went there to enlighten his superior. Article 4, Cadillac claims in his annotation, had not been executed either. Champigny explains this by noting that Father Garnier's health very likely prevented him from making the journey.

The Jesuits were made the servants of Cadillac by article 5, they were placed completely at his mercy. Time and again, as we have seen noted, he put forward as orders of the king various points which he later hoped would become royal orders. It was easy for him to do this, for all recourse to Paris was precluded by the agreement. The missionaries could remonstrate with the governor general, but Cadillac could claim that he had letter from the king which coud not be overruled. What Cadillac intended to do about this article can be seen from the note which he added to the agreement: "By article 5, M. de Callières made Sieur de Lamothe commandant general of the Ottawa country, and he made it known that the Jesuits opposed the execution of his orders." If Cadillac really thought this, why should he have asked again for the commandantship of the Ottawa country in the following year? "I do not believe," noted Champigny, "that such a consequence can be drawn from this article, the consequence rather is that Sieur de Lamothe is the commandant at Detroit and that the Jesuits will obey him in all that pertain to the service of the king, and that they will invite the Indians to go to Detroit."

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[60] AC, C 11E, 14: 127–127v.
[61] Cadillac to Marest, June 15, 1703, Margry, 5: 251.
[62] Marest to Cadillac, May 12, 1703, *ibid.*, 248.
[63] AC, F 3, 8: 319 f.

Article 6 placed the missionaries even more fully at Cadillac's mercy. He complained in a note added to this article that he had written to Callières, but his letter had been handed to Vaudreuil, the new governor, who did not answer. Said Champigny: "The death of M. de Callières had nothing to do with the nature of this agreement. He should have written to the commandant or to the governor general, not to M. de Callières. M. de Vaudreuil did answer this request, as can be seen from what M. de Lamothe said to the Indians." Cadillac could command Marest if the latter had been in Detroit, but he had no power over the Jesuits as long as they were at Michilimackinac.

With regard to article 7, ordering the mutual airing of complaints, Champigny remarked that Cadillac could communicate his to Father Marest by letter. "My opinion is that this article should be carried out; it will put an end to many disputes which can only tire my Lord"; and according to article 8, the Jesuits most concerned with this one-sided agreement were not even consulted. What is almost incomprehensible is that a superior should thus hand over to Cadillac his subordinates, and that Father Bouvart should have asked for such an agreement.[64] These, however, are the facts of the case.

It fell to the lot of Marest to carry out the above agreement, but as we suggested, he was determined not to let Cadillac have his own way. The latter left Quebec toward the end of September,[65] and reached Detroit on November 6, 1702.[66] During his absence, Tonti sent disturbing news to Callières. The cheapness of English goods attracted the Indians; and the Iroquois acting as middlemen, came to Detroit; as a matter of fact, some Hurons had already gone to Albany.[67]

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[64] Cadillac to Marest, June 15, 1703, Margry, 5: 251.

When Cadillac arrived at Detroit, he found that "all the Indians had gone for the hunt." One month later, he assembled a few Hurons and Ottawa and told them of his trip to Quebec.

> Here is what concerns Detroit. The Jesuit who has charge of the prayer at Michilimackinac [Father Marest] will come here this spring [1703]; he will have his hut in the village of the Ottawa. I shall send a canoe to fetch him. Another Jesuit [Father Garnier] will also come this summer to take care of the Hurons; he is now among the Seneca.
>
> I think that five or six French families will also come to begin this settlement; they will arrive when the grain is ripe, and perhaps sooner, if they wish.
>
> All the French and the missionaries who are in this section of the country will listen to my word and obey me; for Onontio has so decided and what he decides is always executed.[68]

The same speech was repeated to the other Indians when they returned from the hunt. Cadillac had no authority outside of Detroit, but he saw, or said he saw such broad powers in article 5 of the agreement. He actually sent a canoe to fetch Father Marest at the end of April, but instead of bringing back the missionary, the man who went to Michilimackinac returned with a letter to Cadillac from Marest in which the latter declared that he had strong reasons for going to Quebec. "You write to me that you are sending the letters of M. de Callières. I received no such letters, but only the agreement about which you know, and which means to us what it must no doubt have meant to you and to M. de Callières. *Intelligentia pauca.*" Marest however, had received a letter from Father Bouvart ordering him to go to Detroit. He assembled the Indians and told them that since they knew the will of Onontio, he would bring their decision to Quebec. The Indians deliberated three days, and then unanimously declared that they would never go to Detroit; that he could tell this to Onontio as they had told him last year. As for the Hurons, Marest refers Cadillac to Quarante Sols to discover his intentions, for Carheil had not been admitted to the Hurons councils.[69]

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[65] On September 27, he "was about to leave," and appointed Antoine Lagarde as his attorney. MPHS, 34: 228.

[66] Margry, 5: 284.

[67] Callières to Pontchartrain, November 4, 1702, MPHS, 33: 158.

[68] Margry, 5: 286 f.

In a note to this letter, Cadillac asserted that the refusal of the Ottawa to move to Detroit was an illusion of the missionary. One sub-tribe, the Ottawa-Sinago, had sent him a wampum belt as a token of their coming to Detroit after the harvest. This is very likely true, for the chief of this sub-tribe was Le Pesant, who soon became the main troublemaker in Detroit. He also notes that only twenty Hurons remained at Michilimackinac, and there too is

> poor Father de Carheil, as obstinate as Benedict XII, who, at the time of two other antipopes, remained in Aragon, where he had himself buried in the papal garments. This one wants at all costs to die as a missionary of the Hurons of Michilimackinac, although there is nobody there. If M. de Lamothe were free to act as is customary with the Indians by giving them presents and wampum belts, he would have them all in Detroit."

While Marest's letter was en route to Detroit, the Indians there held three successives councils. In the first, they said that "they would not go to the English."[70] In the second council held when Quarante Sols arrived from Michilimackinac, he said that he had received a wampum belt from the Iroquois, but that he did not know what it meant, for he was not there at the time, and the elders had forgotten what the Iroquois had said.[71] In the third council, ten days later, Quarante Sols, after much beating about the bush, said that Sastaresty would bring his fire to Saginaw; that the Hurons of Michilimackinac "had given me the lie in council; and that it was false that Onontio had told the Hurons to establish themselves at Detroit." He also reported that after a long dispute, the Hurons of Michilimackinac—where there were supposed to be only twenty-five—and those who had settled at Detroit had decided to go to Montreal and ask what Onontio's wishes were.[72]

There does not seem to be much room for misunderstanding. The main Huron chief, Sastaretsy, was still at Michilimackinac; and the Hurons had given the lie to Quarante Sols, who was supposed to be a great friend of Cadillac. It cannot be said either that the Jesuits had influenced the Hurons, for Quarante Sols had taken care to keep Carheil out of the council.

Two days after this last council at Detroit, Cadillac answered Marest's letter. After nothing that nothing would have been lost if Marest had sent Carheil to Quebec, he goes on to say: "If it was absolutely necessary for you to go to Quebec, you could have passed through Detroit. We could have settled together everything pertaining to the establishment of your mission while you were away, so that, on your return, everything would have been ready." Marest, as we have already mentioned, protested against Cadillac's "willing submission" to the agreement. It seems, says the latter, that "one must be very sensitive to protest against my using this expression." For he had been given, unsealed, the letter of the Jesuit superior, in which Bouvart had asked for this agreement.

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[69] Marest to Cadillac, May 12, 1703, *ibid.*, 247 ff.
[70] *Ibid.*, 287.
[71] *Ibid.*, 5: 290.
[72] *Ibid.*, 292 f.

> You ascend upon the chair of Moses and preach what you do not practice. I shall speak to the point. Your superior of Quebec wrote that the king wanted you to come this spring to Detroit, he settled this with the governor general, with me, and with the Directors of the Company; and yet, you have strong reasons for not coming. Do you call such conduct obedient service of the king?[73]

Cadillac had queer ideas with regard to obedience. Aside from the false assumption that the king wanted Marest to go to Detroit, each Jesuit has the right of deferring the execution of a command. When these reasons have been stated, if the superior still wishes his orders to be carried out, then the subject has to obey, or else he has the right to appeal to a higher superior. When Father Bouvart was told that the Indians absolutely refused to go to Detroit, he withdrew his order, lest the Ottawa should be forced to move. Besides, when Marest arrived in Quebec, Callières was dead, and they were waiting for his successor.

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[73] Cadillac to Marest, June 15, 1703, *ibid.*, 250 ff.

The Cartography of the Mississippi

The Maps of Coronelli

We have seen that the Rio del Espíritu Santo was not the Mississippi; in fact we do not know what this river was.[1] We have also seen that when the Mississippi was discovered, other problems arose, among them the sea into which it emptied. While it was clear from Jolliet's account that it disembogued into the Gulf of Mexico, he did not actually reach the mouth of the river; but from its direction and from the faulty latitude at the lowest point reached, Jolliet surmised that the Mississippi emptied into the Gulf of Mexico.[2]

The first white men who explored the two thousand miles of its course were Jolliet and Marquette, who traveled over nearly 1,000 miles, from the mouth of the Wisconsin to near the mouth of the Arkansas. Then in 1679, Duluth may have seen the upper reaches of the Mississippi, but he did not leave any account of his travels; at least we do not know whether he saw the river in the Sioux country. Thirdly, we know that Accault, Auguelle and Hennepin ascended the river in 1680. The stretch between the mouth of the Illinois and the mouth of the Wisconsin had already been seen by Jolliet and Marquette, but the 200 miles from the Wisconsin and the Falls of St. Anthony were first seen by these three men. Finally, in 1682, LaSalle descended the Mississippi to the sea. Down to the Arkansas River he went over the same route as Jolliet and Marquette, but from there to the sea, nearly 700 miles, he thought he was in unexplored territory. This was a mistake on his part, for 150 years earlier, Luis de Moscoso had descended the Mississippi to the sea, but La Salle was unaware of this.

By 1682, or less than ten years after the Jolliet-Marquette expedition, the whole of the Mississippi, from the Falls of St. Anthony to the sea, had been explored and mapped. Many of the maps made between 1680 and 1703, are extant today, and their study will be the subject of these articles. La Salle's geographical conceptions obtained until the expedition of Iberville in 1699, but from this year on, maps of the Mississippi River became more accurate.

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[1] *El Rio del Espíritu Santo,* New York, 1945, 145 f.

[2] *Life and Voyages of Louis Jolliet (1645–1700)*, Chicago, 1948, 122.

In 1703, thanks to the survey of Pierre-Charles Le Sueur, Claude Delisle was able to publish a map of the Mississippi on which the course of the Mississippi was fixed. It only remained to explore the river north of the Falls of St. Anthony and find its source; this was the work of the nineteenth century. Finally, in 1718, Guillaume Delisle published a map which embodied all available knowledge until that time.

As we said above, the maps of the river will be analyzed and compared with the available documentation on which they are based. Neither the maps nor the writings of the explorers would give us an adequate idea of the exploration of the Mississippi, but both maps and writings should make us better understand the history of the exploration of the richest valley of North America.

The first time La Salle set eyes on upon the river was on December 5, 1680.[3] In the following year, however. Thévenot published a map of the Mississippi based on the "Manitoumie" map,[4] and in the same year, Franquelin made in Quebec another map of the river. This latter map has four parts, the fourth representing the southwest of present day United States, with a schematic course of the Mississippi from Latitude 44° to latitude 31° where the river emptied into the Baye du St. Esprit.[5] Franquelin's basic map is one of Sanson's, as can be seen from the six rivers—not named—emptying into the Baye du St. Esprit. The two rivers which come from the west are not named either, but one is the Missouri and the other the Arkansas; and the two rivers coming from the east are "Les Islinois" and "La Riviere Ouabouski-Quou ou Oüio ou Belle Riviere." The mouth of the Illinois is at latitude 42° 30', that is 3° 30' above its true position, whereas the Ohio is at latitude 35° 30', or 1° 30' below its true position. Thus the difference between the Illinois and the Ohio is seven degrees instead of two.

The Ohio on this map is represented as a huge river taking its rise in a mountain range; its headwaters are not far from those of another river—unnamed—which empties into Lake Ontario. On the Illinois River is found the inscription "Fort Crevecoeur"; as this fort was begun in January 1680, it is clear that the mapmaker was already aware of its existence in 1681.

The complement of this map Franquelin map is another part based on the Jesuit map of 1670.[6] The "Rivière Miscous" emptied into the Mississippi at latitude 44°, *i.e.,* one degree above its true latitude, and what is presumably the Falls of St. Anthony is above latitude 48°. In other words, the Wisconsin is one degree below St. Paul instead of two, and St. Paul is three degrees above its real latitude.

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[3] Margry, 2: 133, 135.

[4] *Life and Voyages of Louis Jolliet,* 72 ff.

[5] Partie de l'Amerique Septentio[nale] depuis 27 iusques a 44 degrez de latt. & depuis 268 degrez de longitude jusqu'a 300 prenant le premier meridian aux Isles Azores.—BSH, B 4040—4.

For all practical purposes, the above two sections of the map are useless. What Franquelin wanted was to give a general idea of the country west of the Great Lakes. It is certain that by this time—September 10, 1681—when his map was finished, he had not heard of the descent to the sea, which took place in 1682, but he may have heard of Hennepin's voyage. Even so, his map, for all that regards the upper course of the Mississippi, is not much different from that which he himself made in 1675. A thing difficult to explain is that Franquelin should have taken the Azores as his prime meridian. Since 1634, there was a law binding all French subjects to take Ferro Island as the prime meridian, and it was not permissible to use any other.[7]

In order to understand La Salle's geographical conceptions, it is necessary to study two maps based on his letters and on the relation officielle. The first of these two maps was made in 1682 by Peronel and Bernou, and the second is the globe of Coronelli which was finished in 1683.

La Salle arrived in New France in 1667, and went to the western end of Lake Ontario with MM. Dollier and Galinée in 1669. In 1677, he made a voyage to France where he was given letters-patent authorizing him to explore the countries, because said the king, "there is nothing we have more at heart than the discovery of that country [western part of New France] where there is prospect of finding a way to Mexico."[8] Returning to Quebec, La Salle departed for Niagara, built the *Griffon,* and made his way to the Illinois country.

In 1680, La Salle speaks of a route for carrying merchandise from the Illinois country to Fort Frontenac,

> by a river which I found . . . and which is much easier than the route followed by Jolliet. The latter for reasons which I have been unable to fathom has hidden the difficulties of this route . . .
>
> This river which I call the "Baudrane," and which the Iroquois name

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[6] Carte contenant une part du Canada & les terres qui s'estendent depuis 44 jusqu'a 61^d de lattitude et de longitude depuis 246 jusqu'a 297.—BSH, B 4040—2.

[7] *Journal des Sçavans,* June 7, 1700, 230.

[8] NYCD, 9: 177.

> "Ohio," and the Ottawa "Olighin-cipou" . . . rises behind Oneida, and after a westward course of 450 leagues with hardly any variations in size, but much wider than the Seine at Rouen, and much deeper, discharges itself into the Colbert River, twenty or twenty five leagues south-by-southwest of the mouth of the Illinois River. A bark could go up this river very far, to the vicinity of the Seneca villages, at which place there is not more than twenty or twenty-five leagues from the south shore of Lake Ontario or Frontenac. From here one can sail to Fort Frontenac in seventeen hours of fair wind. So that we would only have to build a warehouse on the shore of Lake Ontario, and another on the Baudrane River, where horses could be fed and used for transporting merchandise, this should prove easy, for the road is all ready.[9]

The accompanying sketch which translates cartographically what he says, makes it clear that La Salle had not "found" any such river. First of all, there is no such point of the compass as south-by-southwest; the text is probably corrupt and La Salle writing in difficult circumstances, may well have made the mistake. Second, the distance between the Illinois and the river which he mentions is actually 234 miles and not between fifty-five and sixty-five miles. Third, the map which has this river is that of Father Raffeix.[10] The following inscription on the map is self explanatory: "Voyage to be made. By following this route it is easier to discover the whole of the Mississippi coming from Lake Ontario at the village of the Seneca and beyond, in E." We have established that this map was made between 1682 and November 1683,[11] that is, between two and three years after its supposed discovery by La Salle. Hence when he speaks of a river which he had "found," he is simply talking from hearsay, and it is clear that he never descended the Ohio. Moreover, about sixty miles from the mouth of this river, there is, on Raffeix' map, a "petit sault" (the Louisiville rapids), of which La Salle seems to have been totally unaware.

In 1681, one year later, La Salle had supposedly found two other rivers. In an abridgment of one or of several of his letters, it is said that

> There is at the end of Lake Erie, ten leagues [south] of the Strait, a river [Maumee?] which could shorten by much the road to the Illinois country, as it is navigable for canoes to within two leagues of the river [Kankakee] which leads thither. But there is yet another route, shorter and better, the Ohio route which is navigable for barks. Thus, there would be no need

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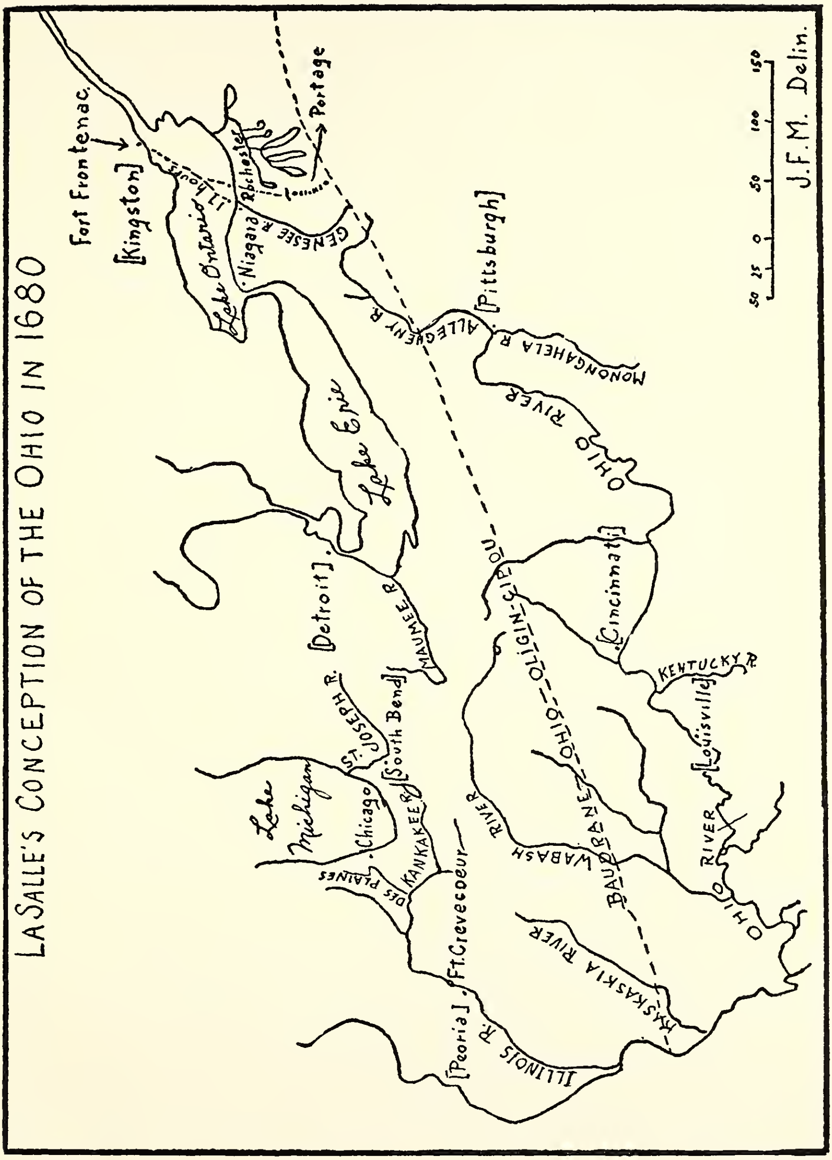
[9] La Salle to ...., *post* September 29, 1680, Margry, 2: 80.

[10] BN, Ge D. 8042. A simplified version of this map is in J. Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, 8 vols., Boston and New York, 1884–1889, 4: 233.

[11] *Hennepin's Description of Louisiana*, Chicago, 1941, 129 f.



LA SALLE'S CONCEPTION OF THE OHIO IN 1680

Fort Frontenac.
[Kingston]
Lake Ontario
Louis
Rochester
Niagara R.
GENESEE R.
Portage
ALLEGHENY R.
[Pittsburgh]
MONONGAHELA R.
OHIO RIVER
Lake Erie
[Detroit]
MAUMEE R.
ST. JOSEPH R.
[South Bend]
Lake Michigan
Chicago
KANKAKEE R.
DES PLAINES
Ft. Crevecoeur
[Peoria]
ILLINOIS R.
RIVER
WABASH
OHIO—OLIGIN-CIPOU
OHIO—BAUDRANE
[Cincinnati]
KENTUCKY R.
[Louisville]
OHIO RIVER
KASKASKIA RIVER
50 25 0 50 100 150
J.F.M. Delin.

of making use of the harbor at the end of Lake Michigan, nor of joining this harbor with the Rivière Divine, nor of making the latter navigable.[12]

The Maumee does not come within two leagues of the headwaters of the Kankakee, but the St. Joseph River is near them at South Bend, Indiana. This is the route followed by La Salle in 1679. It is apparent that the man who made this abridgment had only the vaguest idea of what he was talking about, and he was merely echoing what La Salle had written in 1680 and in 1681.

In the letter of 1681 after many pages of self vindication, La Salle begins to speak of "Louisiana," *i.e.,* of the Illinois country. He never, he says, went through Green Bay or to Lake Superior and he has always preferred another route to the Illinois country, especially "now that I have found a shorter way than that of the lakes." This shorter way is as follows:

> The river, called by the Iroquois Tiotontaracton, which you have seen on my map to the south and toward the end of Lake Erie, is indeed the passage to go to the Ohio or Olighin-cipou, which means Beautiful river in Iroquois and in Ottawa, respectively. The distance from Tiotontaracton to the Beautiful River being quite considerable, a communication between the two is difficult. But about one day's journey from the mouth of the Tiotontaracton . . . there is a small lake out of which flows a creek three or four fathoms wide and one fathom deep where it comes out of the lake. This creek soon becomes a river by the junction of numerous others, and after a course of more than one hundred leagues, without any rapids, is augmented by another small river which comes from near the river of the Miami [St. Joseph] as well as by five or six others. Then it increases its speed along the side of a mountain and empties into the Illinois two leagues below the village and thence to into the Colbert River. It is called Ouabanchi or Aramoni. This is the shortest way of all, and the prairies surrounding that river will furnish a great number of buffalo hides. There are less than one hundred leagues between Niagara and this river[13] . . . It is by means of this river, called Ouabanchi or Aramoni, that I am trying to establish a communication between Fort Frontenac and the Illinois country . . .[14]

The accompanying sketch shows how wrong La Salle was. In his anxiety to find a river, he theorizes and invents a link between the Wabash and the Aramoni. By this time he knew that there was a river called the Maumee and another called the Acamoni; he had also heard of the Wabash from the Indians. With this information he joined the two and claimed to have "found" a river which

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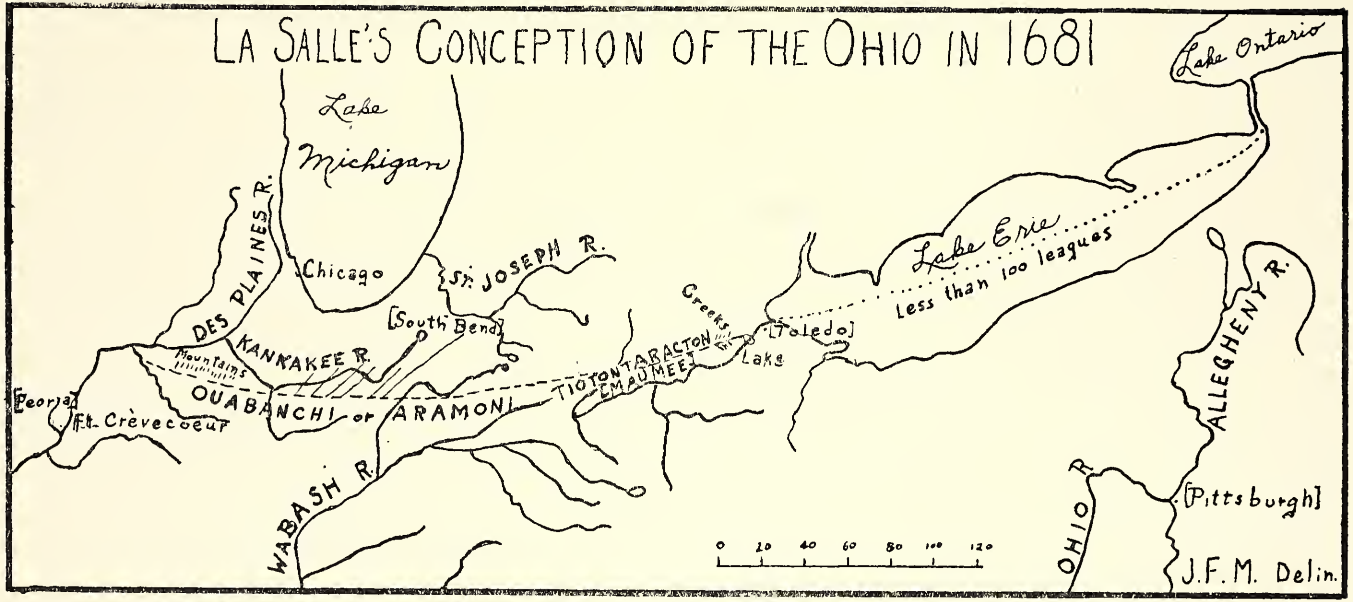
[12] T. C. Pease and R. Werner, eds., *The French Foundations* 1680–1693 (Springfield, Ill., 1934), 9.

[13] In the same letter he says that the distance from "Niagara au fond du lac Erié" is 122 leagues. Margry, 2: 248.

[14] *Ibid.*, 243 f.



LA SALLE'S CONCEPTION OF THE OHIO IN 1681

Lake Ontario
Lake Michigan
Lake Erie
Less than 100 leagues
Chicago
DES PLAINES R.
ST. JOSEPH R.
[South Bend]
KANKAKEE R.
Mountains
[Peoria]
Ft. Crèvecoeur
OUABANCHI or ARAMONI
TIOTONTARACTON
[MAUMEE]
Creeks
Lake
[Toledo]
WABASH R.
OHIO R.
ALLEGHENY R.
[Pittsburgh]
0 20 40 60 80 100 120
J.F.M. Delin.

communicates with Lake Erie, Lake Ontario and Fort Frontenac. All of this was simply to avoid the Chicago portage which he had ridiculed in another letter. Yet, when on his way to the sea and on his return to Montreal in 1683, he passed through the Chicago portage instead of going by the river which he had "found." As will be seen, this new river will find its way into a map; for in 1681, Bernou thought that when La Salle said that he had descended a river, there could be no question of his having done so.[15]

La Salle also knew of the upper Mississippi but indirectly. In February 1680, he sent Accault, Auguelle and Hennepin up the river; and after their return Accault gave the following description of the Mississippi as far as the Lake of the Issati. One hundred leagues from the Illinois River is the Wisconsin which comes from the north until about latitude 45°, it then flows west-southwest, and after a course of sixty leagues in the latter direction falls into the Mississippi. Where the Wisconsin changes its direction, there is a flooded prairie, on the other side of which is the "Kakaling" [Fox] River which empties into Green Bay. . Near its source, this river is a mere creek which meanders through lakes for forty leagues. Its name, "Kakaling," comes from the rapids near its mouth which are difficult to descend.

Twenty-three or twenty-four leagues above the mouth of the Wisconsin is the "Rivière Noire, called "Chadabeda" by the Sioux, and thirty leagues above the latter is the "Rivière des Boeufs." Thirty-eight or forty leagues beyond, is the river by which Duluth came down to the Mississippi. Duluth, says La Salle, did not discover the Sioux country, for it had long been known. Father Hennepin and Accault visited it before him; and Fafart, one of the men who deserted La Salle, had been there first. Anyway, the country is no good whether it was discovered by "my men or by Duluth." Twenty leagues farther up the river by which Duluth came down to the Mississippi are the Falls of St. Anthony, and eight leagues beyond is the river of the Nadouessioux, which can be followed for fifty leagues, at the end of which is the Lake of the Issati.[16]

In spite of what La Salle says about Duluth, the latter was the discoverer of the Sioux country. It was to be expected that by this time, 1681, La Salle who had not discovered anything would belittle the achievements of other explorers. According to him, Jolliet's map was mistaken and his relation was faulty. Until now, he had merely followed in the footsteps of others. He went to Michilimackinac long after other coureurs de bois had made the journey; his journey to the St. Joseph River and beyond had been travelled over by Marquette; and in his journey to the Illinois he had been preceded by Jolliet. It was quite out of place for La Salle to object to Duluth and Jolliet, considering that the "rivers which he had found" did not exist at all.

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[15] Cf. Bernou to Renaudot, February 1, 1684, BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7497: 89.

[16] Margry, 2: 249 ff.

However that may be, La Salle's geographical conception of the upper Mississippi was expressed cartographically on the map of 1682.[17] Thus the Ohio is about twenty-five miles from the Illinois; the Aramoni, the Wisconsin, the Rivière Noire, the Rivière aux Boeufs, and that by which Duluth descended into the Mississippi are all marked, but with the exception of the Wisconsin, are not named. Peculiarly enough, the St. Croix is joined to the "Rivière des Siou" by another also unnamed. Beyond the Falls of St. Anthony, two rivers descended from the north: one is the "Rivière des Siou" already mentioned, with its headwaters in "Lac Buade," while the other flows parallel to it, joining the former above the Falls of St. Anthony. In the Sioux country the inscription "armes du Roy gravées sur cet Arbre l'an 1679" recalls one of Duluth's voyages. The only detail on the map which is not in La Salle's letter is the widening of the Mississippi called "Lac des Pleurs."

The course of the Mississippi was inserted in an old Spanish map, as the Florida part of the map shows. The Rio Escondido and the Rio Bravo, which empty into the Gulf of Mexico are especially noticeable as well as the distance from La Louisiane" to the "Nouvelle Biscaye." From the mouth of the Ohio to the Gulf, there are only five degrees, that is, 350 miles, in a straight line. As we shall see, these various features will strongly influence La Salle when he drew the model of the map of 1684.

Another map which belongs to this period is the one which accompanies the *Description of Louisiana* of Father Hennepin.[18] One difference between this and the preceding consists in the omission of the Aramoni and the Ohio rivers. Another difference is that Hennepin or his engraver gave the names to the Rivière Noire and to the "Rivière des Boeufs." Also, the river by which Duluth entered the Mississippi is called "Rivière du Tombeau," while the "Rivière des Siou" becomes the "R. de St. François."[19]

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[17] Cf.*Hennepin's Description of Louisiana,* 111 ff.

[18] The map of Father Gentil, BN, Ge DD 2632 (1), is a simplified version of that in the *Description de la Louisiane.* Cf. *Hennepin's Description of Louisiana,* 120 ff.

[19] *Hennepin's Description of Louisiana,* 132.

After having dealt with the tributaries of the Mississippi and with the upper reaches of the river, we now come to the voyage to the sea and to the second map namely, to the globe of Coronelli. We shall first give the voyage itself, taking details from the various accounts, and shall then show how these details are represented on the globe.

La Salle accompanied by fifty-three persons, split his forces at the Miami, sending some with Tonti by way of Lake Michigan, while he with the rest followed on foot. The two parties joined on the Chicago River, January 4, 1682.[20] They went down the Des Plaines and the Illinois on sledges as far as Fort Crèvecoeur, where they found the ice melted. Here they embarked in their canoes and arrived on February 6, at the mouth of the Illinois River,[21] situated "at 38° of latitude."[22] They waited until the 13th, because the ice was coming lown the Mississippi, according to one account;[23] or according to another, because the Indians who were with La Salle had been delayed on their way down the Illinois River.[24]

Six leagues below the mouth of the Illinois they stopped near the mouth of the Missouri;[25] and another six leagues brought them to the village of the Tamaroa, where they left marks to notify the Indians of the passage of the French. They went two leagues farther down and remained two days.[26] Forty-six leagues beyond they came to the mouth of "the Saint Louis, or Ouabache or Chicagoua. It was believed that by following this river, which comes from the country of the Iroquois, one could find a passage to China."[27]

The next point is Fort Prud'homme, some forty leagues below the Ohio. The relation officielle says that this distance was covered without stopping,[28] but Nicolas de la Salle mentions at least three stops.[29] Here Prud'homme was lost and searching parties were sent out to look for him. Gabriel Barbier with two Indians succeeded in capturing two Chickasaw. "We were very much embarrassed," said Tonti, "for we did not know their language."[30] La Salle, having been told that their villages were one and a half days' march away, went to find Prud'homme;[31] but realizing that the villages were much farther away than the Indians had made him believe, he sent one Chickasaw back to his own village and took the other with him. The lost man was finally found and the party left on March 3.[32]

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[20] Mid-America, XXII (1940): 28.

[21] Tonti says that the Mississippi was christened the Colbert River. (Margry, 1:596). La Salle had been speaking of the Colbert River much earlier, although it is possible that he solemnly christened it at this time. This, however, will not prevent him from referring to the river by its Indian name.

[22] The true latitude of the mouth of the Illinois River is 38° 58'.

[23] Membré's letter of June 3, 1682, Margry, 2: 207.

[24] La Métairie's procès-verbal of April 9, 1682, Margry, 2: 187.

[25] Peculiarly enough both Membré and La Métairie omit all mention of the Missouri.

[26] These details are found in Nicolas de la Salle (Margry, 1: 550), and are implied in Tonti's memoir. *Ibid.*, 596.

[27] Nicolas de la Salle, Margry, 1: 555. This conception will be elaborated by La Salle in 1683.

[28] Mid-America, XXII (1940): 29.

[29] Margry, 1: 551.

Ten leagues farther down was a small river which was named "Chickasaw."[33] "We passed the Chepontia River and the village of the Matsigamea. The fog, which was very thick, prevented us from finding the channel leading to the rendezvous of the Chickasaw. The Indian who was with us did not realize where he was."[34] They proceeded thirty-six leagues according to Nicolas de la Salle,[35] forty-four according to Tonti's letter of July 22, 1682,[36] and fifty according to the latter's first memoir.[37] They do not say whether they covered this distance without stopping, but it is clear that they stopped for hunting.[38] They finally arrived at the first Arkansas village, where they took possession of the country.

We now come to a puzzling part of the narratives. According to Tonti's first memoir, immediately after leaving the Arkansas, they came upon "a great island which is nearly eighty leagues long."[39] In 1683, La Salle wrote that several Indians had told him that the Chucagoa empties into the Mississippi, which, he said, might well be, although he did not see it, "because below the Arkansas village, there is a great island, or rather several islands which are sixty or eighty leagues long. We took the western branch in going down, and as we had left all our equipment at the Arkansas, we had to go back by the same channel on our return journey; the Chuckagua could have its mouth on the other [eastern] channel."[40]

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[30] *Ibid.*, 597.

[31] Tonti to ...., July 23, 1682, Habig, 217. La Métairie says half a day's march. Margry, 2: 188.

[32] Tonti says March 5 (Margry, 1: 598), but this is probably a misprint.

[33] Margry, 1: 552.

[34] Margry, 2: 188.

[35] Margry, 1: 552 f.

[36] Habig, 217. The relation officielle has 45 leagues.

[37] Margry 1: 598.

[38] "Et fait petite chasse, a cause que le bordage dela rivière est garni de cannes si espaisses qu'il est presque impossible d'entrer dans le bois." *Ibid.*

[39] Margry, 1: 600.

[40] Margry, 2: 200.

In his letter of July 22, 1682, Tonti says that below the Koroa, "we missed ten nations having taken one channel for another; this channel forms an island about forty leagues long."[41] The relation officielle which is partly based on Tonti's letter, repeats this: "A little below [the Koroa], the river is divided into two branches by an island fifty leagues long; they took one arm instead of the other, and so missed seeing ten other nations."[42] Finally, when they were twenty-one leagues below the Arkansas, Nicolas de la Salle says: "The two Arkansas guides wanted us to take to the left (for the river makes three great islands there) to go and wage war against the Tunica, their enemies, who have a village in these parts. But M. de la Salle did not want to go to that side, not wishing to wage war against anybody. The two Arkansas said that on the left [eastern] arm of the Mississippi, there were other nations."[43]

That they saw an island is certain, but nowhere on the Mississippi is there an island of eighty or fifty or even forty leagues long. Another strange feature is the variety of places where the island is said to be: at the Arkansas, or twenty leagues below the village of these Indians, or below the village of the Koroa. There might be a solution if the island had been at the Arkansas and if the travelers had followed the west branch of the river, or what we call today the lower course of the Arkansas, but this island is relatively small, and cannot be said to have diverted the exploring party for so long a time.

"On the 19th, we passed across from the Tunica, the Yazoo, and the Ikouera, but as they were not on the river, and were, moreover, enemies of the Arkansas and of the Taensa, we did not visit them."[44] The Yazoo and the Ikouera were evidently the other tribes spoken of by Nicolas de la Salle.[45] The Arkansas guides told the explorers that they were approaching the Taensa village, situated on a small lake[46] "which had the shape of the moon crescent when it is eight days old."[47] Here the guides returned to their villages, for they feared their enemies who numbered forty villages on the east bank; those on the west bank, however, were friendly and numbered thirty-four villages.[48] Four Loups who had accompanied La Salle remained at the Taensa villages. The explorers now inquired about salt water, but the Taensa shook their heads to show that they did not know.[49] "M. de la Salle who had believed that this river emptied into the Baye du St. Esprit, took the latitude [at the Taensa village] with the astrolabe and found 31°. This made him believe that we were in the Abscondido [Escondido] River [fleuve], as we found it to be true later on."[50]

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[41] Tonti to ...., July 22, 1682, Habig, 222.
[42] MID-AMERICA, XXII (1940): 32.
[43] Margry, 1: 555.
[44] La Métairie's procès-verbal of April 9, 1682, Margry, 2: 189.
[45] Margry, 1: 555.
[46] Lake St. Joseph in Tensas Parish, Louisiana.
[47] Margry, 1: 556.
[48] Tonti to ...., July 22, 1682, Habig, 220.

From the Taensa they went to the Natchez, and the Koroa chief came during the night to visit the travelers. They all went together back to the river, for the Natchez village was three leagues inland, and then descended to the Koroa ten leagues farther down. "On March 31, we passed the village of the Huma without seeing it, because of the fog and because it was a little off the bank of the river."[51] Nicolas de la Salle put the matter as follows: "The slave of a Loup Indian said that we were across from the Huma, but M. de la Salle did not go visit them."[52] Tonti is vague: "We left the Huma village on the left; we did not visit them";[53] as for Father Membré, he simply said that they passed by the village of the Huma without seeing them.[54]

They were now across the Red River, "half a league wide at its mouth";[55] on its right, "there is a channel fifty leagues distant from the sea."[56] Tonti who gives this latter detail does not say how he knew that the distance to the sea was only fifty leagues, nor does he tell why the party did not take this short cut to the sea instead of going down the Mississippi. Having passed the Rivière aux Risques,[57] the explorers attempted to land at the Quinipissa, but were repulsed with a volley of arrows, and two leagues farther down the Mississippi, stopped at the Maheoula[58] village "which had been destroyed a short time previously and was full of corpses and blood."[59]

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[49] Margry, 1: 557.

[50] Margry, 1: 602. In his second memoir, Tonti simply says: "We took an observation and found ourselves at 31 degrees of latitude." Kellogg, *Narratives of the Northwest,* 300. The true latitude of the Taensa is nearly 32 degrees.

[51] La Métairie's procès-verbal of April 9, 1682, Margry, 2: 189.

[52] Margry, 1: 559.

[53] *Ibid.,* 604.

[54] Margry, 2: 210.

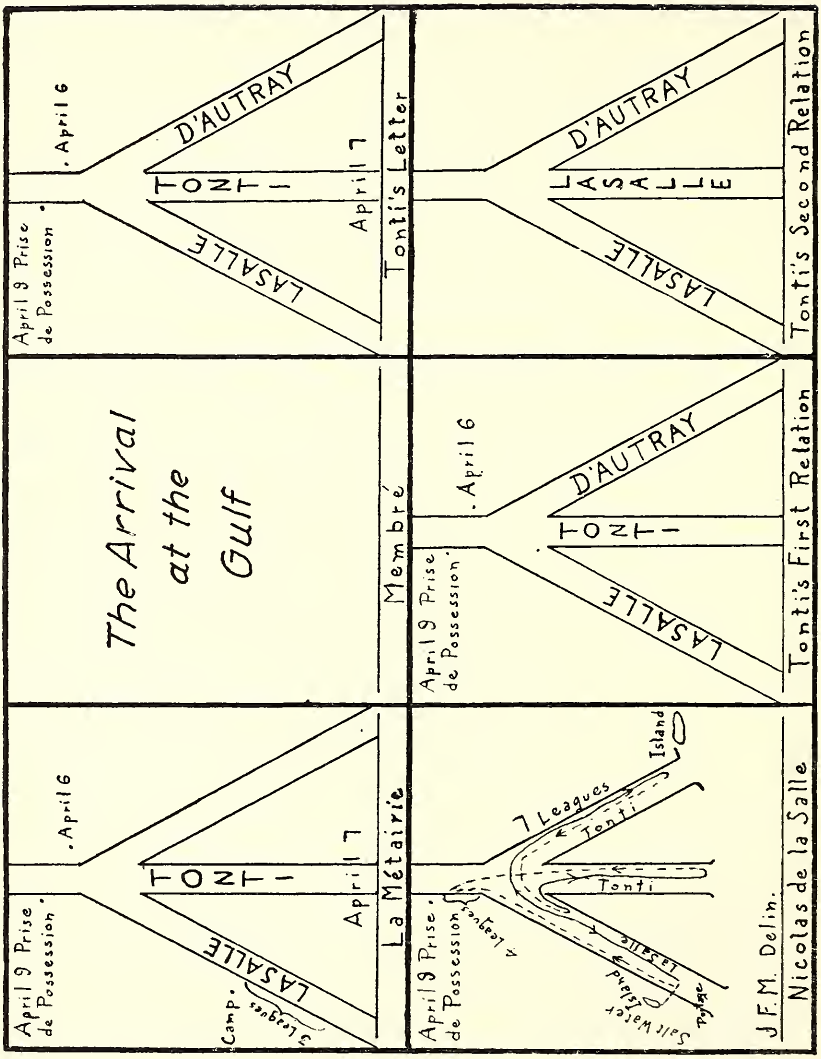
[55] Margry, 1: 560.

[56] *Ibid.,* 604.

[57] Nicolas del la Salle's relation, Margry, 1: 561.

[58] Tonti calles this village Tangibao, Margry, 1: 604, and Kellogg, *Early Narratives of the Northwest,* 301. Maheoula occurs in La Métairie's procès-verbal, Margry, 2: 190.

[59] Margry, 2: 190.


The Arrival at the Gulf
Tonti's Letter
D'AUTRAY
TONTI
LASALLE
. April 6
April 7
April 9 Prise de Possession
Tonti's Second Relation
D'AUTRAY
LA SALLE
LASALLE
Membré
Tonti's First Relation
D'AUTRAY
TONTI
LASALLE
. April 6
April 9 Prise de Possession
La Métairie
TONTI
LASALLE
. April 6
April 7
April 9 Prise de Possession
Camp.
3 Leagues
Nicolas de la Salle
J.F.M. Delin.
7 Leagues
Tonti
Tonti
Island
La Salle
Island
Salt Water
Portage
2 Leagues
April 9 Prise de Possession

The adjoining sketch shows the arrival at the sea. On April 9, 1682, near the mouth of the Mississippi, La Salle took possession of Louisiana,

> from the mouth of the great river [fleuve] St. Louis, otherwise called Ohio, Olighinsipou or Chucagoa on the east, and this with the consent of the Shawnee, Chickasaw and other tribes dew dwelling thereon with whom we have made an alliance, as also along the river [fleuve] Colbert or Mississippi, and rivers which empty thereinto, from its source . . . as far as its mouth at the sea or Gulf of Mexico, at about latitude 27°, and as far as the mouth of the Rivière des Palmes, upon the assurance which we have received from all the above mentioned nations that we are the first Europeans who have descended or ascended the River Colbert.[60]

Sparks speaks of the obscurity in the above enumeration of places and Indian nations "which may be ascribed to an ignorance of the geography of the country."[61] Rather, in taking possession of Louisiana, La Salle wished to make sure that, even if the Chucagoa should not empty into the Mississippi, he was taking possession of both, although he had not descended the former. In 1683, after his return from the sea he wrote as follows:

> The following reason makes me think that the Chucagoa is different from the Mississippi and flows parallel to it. No large river empties into the Mississippi from the east, whereas it receives very large rivers from the west. I have always surmised that there must be in the east another large river into which all these waters must empty. Indeed after one or two days' journey into the woods, all the creeks and rivers run eastward and not one toward the Mississippi.[62]

The accompanying map makes the reasoning of La Salle perfectly clear. He took possession of the Mississippi which he had descended, and of the Chucagoa, which he surmised was in the east. As we shall see later, this conception arose from his having studied the account of Garcilaso de la Vega. In 1684, he no longer held that the Chucagoa, emptied into the sea; but this was still another phase in the evolution of his thoughts. In 1683, Bernou, who as yet did not have this letter of La Salle, wrote as follows about the location of the mouth of the Mississippi:

> It empties into the Gulf of Mexico beyond the Baye du St. Esprit, between the 27th and 28th degree of latitude and at the place where some maps mark the Rio de la Madalena [v. g. the Jaillot map of 1674] and others the Rio Escondido [v. g. the map of Duval of 1679]. Sieur de la Salle who always carries an astrolabe in his voyages had taken the exact latitude

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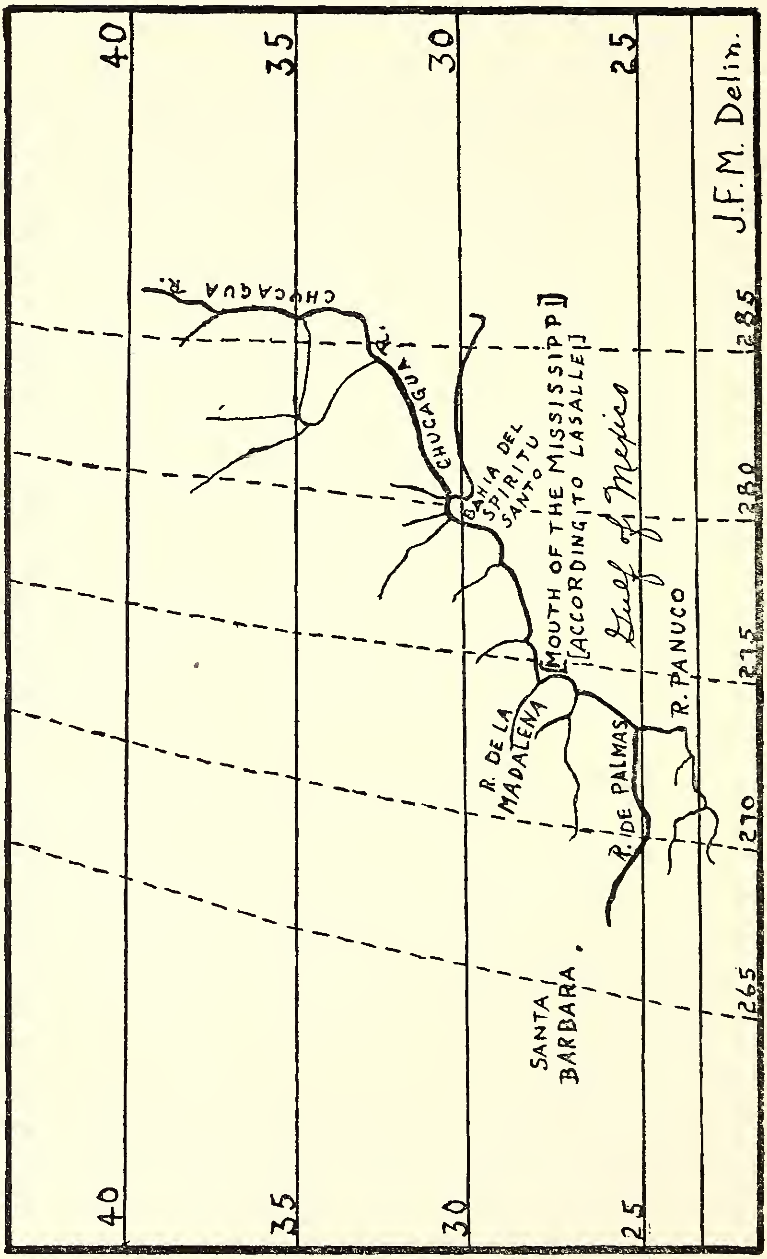
[60] *Ibid.*, 191 f.

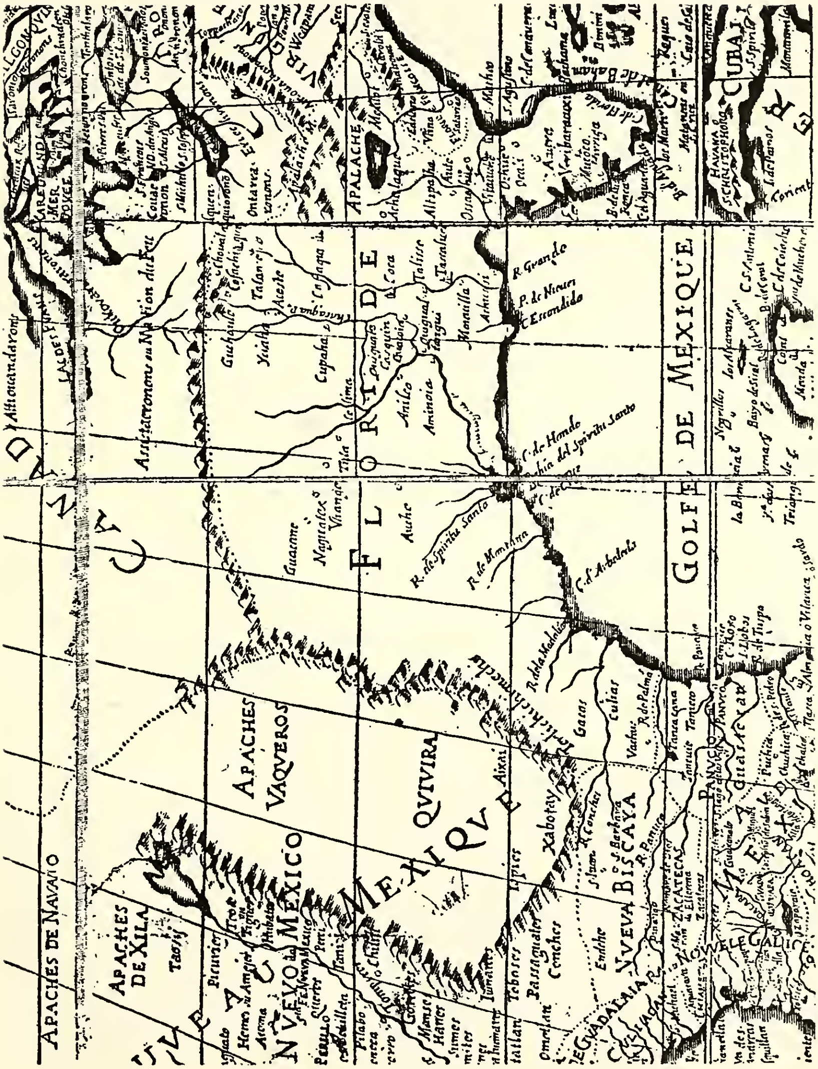
[61] B. F. French, *Historical Collections of Louisiana,* 5 parts, New York, 1846–1853, part 1: 49.

[62] Margry, 2: 199.



The Territory of Which LaSalle Took Possession

40
35
30
25
Chucagua R.
Chucagua R.
Bahia del Spiritu Santo
Mouth of the Mississippi [According to LaSalle]
Gulf of Mexico
R. Panuco
R. de la Madalena
R. de Palmas
Santa Barbara
285
280
275
270
265
J.F.M. Delin.


APACHES DE NAVAIO
APACHES DE XILA
Taosij
NVEVO MEXICO
APACHES VAQUEROS
QVIVIRA
MEXIQVE
FLORIDE
APALACHE
R. Grande
P. de Nieves
C. Escondido
C. de Hondo
Bahia del Spiritu Santo
R. de Spiritu Santo
C. d'Arbolado
GOLFE DE MEXIQUE
NVEVA BISCAYA
PANVCO
HAVANA
S. CHRISTOPHORO
CUBA
Xabotay
Tebosses
Conches
Gatas
Culias
Apalache
Assistaeronons ou Nation du Feu
Ontaoua
Virginie
Guachoule
Cosachui
Talise
Aniko
Aminoia
Vitamo
Quivira
Galice

of this mouth.[63] It is about thirty leagues from Rio Bravo, sixty from Rio de Palmas, and between ninety and one hundred from Rio Panuco, where is the nearest settlement of the Spaniards.[64]

Tonti, however, wrote that "we were below latitude 29°, leaving the Baye du St. Esprit to the northeast. At his left, M. de la Salle figures that he was eighty leagues from the mountains of Santa Barbara. He has kept to himself the latitude of the mouth of the river. Our direction has been south and southwest."[65] From the Illinois the Mississippi flows almost due south, there being a difference of 1° 20' to the eastward between the mouth of the Illinois and that of the Ohio; and from the mouth of the Ohio to that of the Red River, the difference in longitude is 2° 10' to the westward; and from the Red River to the mouth of the Mississippi, the angle is 2° 30'; thus between the Illinois and the mouth of the river there is a difference of only one degree.

Tonti says that they had been below latitude 29°. As a matter of fact, the present day latitude of the mouth of the Mississippi is 29°, but in the day of La Salle it was five minutes of arc above that latitude;[66] and is, as seems probable, he computed his position near Venice, Louisiana, he would have found 29° 42'. The trouble was that his astrolabe was defective,[67] and instead of taking the latitude on several days in succession, he took it once near the mouth of the river. It is quite clear that, even if he had taken the exact latitude, La Salle should have been puzzled, for he was obsessed by the account of Garcilaso de la Vega and could not reconcile what he saw with his own eyes with what he had read in the *Histoire de la Floride.*

After taking possession of Louisiana, the expedition began to reascend the Mississippi. After seven days' navigation, they reached the Tangibao or Maheoula village. On the following days, they found four Quinipissa women, whom they brought to the village which had been destroyed; these women gave the French to understand that the Huma and Chigilousa had sacked the village. They went to the Quinipissa village, had a "battle" with the Indians, and leaving these inhospitable shores, went to camp near the Rivière aux Risques; and five days later were near the mouth of the Red

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[63] In the Renaudot copy, this sentence is placed at the end of this paragraph.

[64] MID-AMERICA, XXII (1940): 33.

[65] Tonti to ...., July 22, 1682, Habig, 229.

[66] That is if the rate of advance of the delta into the Gulf is about one mile in fifty years.

[67] Margry, 2: 603.

River which they christened "Fleuve Seignelay." They made their way to the Koroa, "where the chief advised them to go to the Natchez, saying that his young men had bad intentions."[68] At the Natchez landing they did not see anybody; and at the Taensa, LaSalle with five men left ahead of the others;[69] but the main body having been shown a short cut, they arrived at the Quapaw village before he did and there took the baggage which they had cached on the way down. La Salle again took the lead; but having heard of his illness, Tonti hastened to join him and found the explorer at Fort Prud'homme.[70] Now Tonti went ahead to open the caches which had been left at the Miami,[71] and went thence to Michilimachinac. As for La Salle, after he had recuperated from his illness, made his way to the Illinois village and thence he, too, went to Michilimackinac.

Such is the voyage to the sea, which except for the "battle" with the Quinipissa was uneventful. There was certainly no reason for comparing the descent of the Mississippi with the exploits of Cortés[72] or those of De Soto; there was no reason either for writing that "never did any Spaniard carry out similar enterprises with so few men and so many enemies."[73] Bernou, who wrote this, seems to forget that Jolliet and Marquette descended the river to the Arkansas with forces incomparably smaller than La Salle's.

All the above information about the voyage to the sea was embodied in Coronelli's globe. Before beginning, however, there is a point which we wish to make clear. The geographer did not insert the details as found in the compostie account which we have just given, but he took his text from the relation officielle, supplementing it with some information which has not come down to us.

When in 1680, Cardinal d'Estrées saw in Parma the globes made by Coronelli, he persuaded the geographer to come to Paris and entrusted to him the construction of the globes which were presented to Louis XIV on their completion in 1683. The two globes, terrestrial and celestial, measured fifteen feet in diameter; they were kept at Marly until 1730, when they were given to the Bibliothèque Nationale. For this monumental work, Coronelli had access to rare and unique relations of travels, and as he acknowledges in a later work, was helped by the learned men of France.[74]

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[68] Margry, 1: 566.
[69] *Ibid.*, 611.
[70] Kellogg, *Early Narratives of the Northwest*, 304.
[71] Tonti to ...., July 22, 1682, Habig, 227.
[72] Bernou to Renaudot, February 22, 1684, BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7497: 98v.
[73] MID-AMERICA, XXII (1940): 35.

Coronelli's sponsor, Cardinal d'Estrées, was also Bernou's protector. In a letter written to Renaudot from Rome where Bernou then was, he says: "Father Zénobe [Membré], Recollect, and my conclusion of the Relation des descouvertes of M. de la Salle will enable him [Coronelli] to draw the course of the Mississippi to the sea."[75] In the map of 1682 mentioned above, Bernou had not drawn the course of the river to the sea, but only to the Ohio. And "my conclusion of the Relation des descouvertes" can only be the relation officielle, which Bernou had in April or May 1683, when he left Paris for Rome.

When E. L. Stevenson wrote his book on *Terrestrial and Celestial Globes,* he noted that "on account of certain reconstructive work [in the Bibliothèque Nationale], the globes have been placed in an inaccessible part of the building, and cannot be photographed."[76] There are, however, several maps on which the Mississippi is marked as on the globe: the Florence globe of 1688,[77] the map of 1688,[78] that in the *Atlante Veneto,*[79] and the upper Mississippi from latitude 40° to latitude 50°.[80] The only difference between these various maps consists in the number of descriptive legends inscribed on them. These descriptive legends are found in a manuscript entitled: "Recueil des Inscriptions des Remarques Historiques et Geographiques qui sont sur le Globe Terrestre de Marly."[81]

In the *Atlante Veneto,* Coronelli says: "The Mississippi or the Colbert River is a river of Louisiana, the greatest of all rivers of North America, except the St. Lawrence, since it flows for twenty-four degrees straight from north to south. It rises at latitude 50° . . . and empties into the Gulf of Mexico at latitude 26° and at longitude 274°."[82] This direction is to be seen on the map, for the river flows straight down from the Falls of St. Anthony to its mouth. Above the falls, however, the river comes from the northwest; its sources are not indicated, for the Mississippi begins abruptly at latitude 49°. Two other rivers are shown, one unnamed with its headwaters at lattitude 50°, and the other, the "Saint François," which rises from Lake of the Issati or Buade, so called in honor of Frontenac, under whose orders Duluth discovered it in 1680.[83] The "Rivière du Prophète" is joined to the "Rivière Saint François" by means of the "Rivière de la Magdelaine," which empties into the Mississippi below the Falls of St. Anthony, and at its mouth is the inscription "Le Tombeau." The Magdelaine is the river by which Duluth descended into the Mississippi on his errand to rescue Hennepin, and has its origin in "Lac de Providence." Except for the St. François which was likely named by Hennepin, we do not know who christened these rivers, nor do we know the reason for this peculiar hydrography. All that we know is that this system of river already appeared on the map of 1682.

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[74] Cf. the corrector's report prefaced to the *Atlante Veneto.*

[75] Bernou to Renaudot, June 27, 1683, BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7497: 19.

[76] E. L. Stevenson, *Terrestrial and Celestial Globes,* 2 vols., New Haven, 1921, 1: 103.

[77] Original in the Library of Congress; photostat in the E. E. Ayer Collection of the Newberry Library, Chicago.

[78] Partie Occidentale du Canada ou de la Nouvelle France . . . Par le P. Coronelli . . . Corrigée et augmentée Par le S^r Tillemon . . . Paris, 1688; reproduced in L. Karpinski, *Bibliography of the Printed Maps of Michigan, 1804–1880,* Lansing, Mich., 1931, pl. VII.

[79] America Settentrionale colle Nuove Scoperte fin all'Anno 1688, in *Atlanté Veneto,* 2 vols., Venise, 1690, 1: between pages 56 and 57; reproduced in S. J. Tucker, *Indian Villages of the Illinois Country,* Springfield, Ill., 1942, pl. IX.

[80] "La Lovisiana, Parte Sttentrionale . . ., in *Citta, Fortezze, Isole, e Porti Principali dell' Europa,* Venice, 1689.

[81] BN, Mss. fr., 13365, the whole volume.

Between the upper reaches of the Mississippi and those of the unnamed river live the "Issati, people which form twenty-four villages";[84] this inscription is repeated on every map and is derived from the globe. Finally, north of the Falls of St. Anthony one river is called "Mascousins," which is perhaps the river which La Salle mentions in his letter of August 22, 1681. The Mississippi, he says, from the Illinois River up to the Sioux country receives only two rivers from the west that of the "Otoutanta Paotè and that of the Maskoutens Nadouessiou."[85]

The "lac des Pleurs" is said to be twenty-seven leagues long and four leagues wide;[86] into it flows the "Rivière des Beoufs" or "Ouatebanga." The "Rivière Noire" is called "Chabadeba" or "Chaboudeba" by the Sioux. These two variants, which are found on the map revised by Tillemon, show that he had in his possession Bernou's *Relation des découverts* and Hennepin's *Description of Louisiana.* It is practically certain that Coronelli had the first of these two works, but he does not give the variant of either.

Then comes the Wisconsin River. Instead of giving the course of the river as in La Salle's letter, Coronelli placed the portage much too far inland. Near the mouth of the Wisconsin is the following inscription: "On June 17, 1673, Father Marquette and Sieur Jolliet were the first Europeans to enter the Mississippi by the Wisconsin River; they had left the Mascoutens village on June 10, with two Miami guides."[87] With the exception of this last detail—the date when they left the Mascoutens village with two Miami guides—this inscription is found on all the maps. As it is derived from Thévenot's account published in 1681, it makes a clear claim to priority of discovery of the Mississippi by Jolliet and Marquette. We may also note that this claim was made in 1683 by Coronelli who was in contact with Renaudot and to whom Bernou had sent relations and maps for his globe.

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[82] *Atlante Veneto,* 1: 132.

[83] *Ibid.*, 29—On the gores of the Florence globe and on the map of the *Atlante Veneto,* Duluth is said to be a member of Frontenac's family.

[84] BN, Mss. fr., 13365, p. 67.

[85] Margry, 2: 249. On this passage cf. *Hennepin's Description of Louisiana,* 88.

[86] On the 1688 map, Partie Occidentale du Canada ou de la Nouvelle France.

The distance between the Wisconsin and the Illinois rivers is six degrees instead of the actual four, and the distance between the Illinois and the Wabash [*i.e.,* the Ohio] is two degrees, that is, about the same as the actual distance. The mouth of the Illinois River however, is placed at latitude 37°, whereas the relation officielle places it at latitude 38°, which is still nearly a degree below its true position. The Mississippi, reads the inscription at latitude 39°, "has the same width from here to the sea, and there are neither falls nor rapids along its course."

Slightly below latitude 37°, the Mississippi "receives, on the west bank, the river of the Osages, on which dwell the Osages and the Akanseo, whose position is still unknown." How can the river of the Osages be represented as a small stream when the relation officialle speaks of a great river coming from the west is not explained. Neither the Osages nor the "Akanseo" are mentioned in any report, although both tribes are listed in the description of the Mississippi in the *Atlante Veneto.*[88] To the north of this river of the Osages and across from the mouth of the Illinois River is found the village of the Messourites.

Except the "Maroa" on the east bank of the river the following details are not based on any account of the descent of the Mississippi. First, on the west bank we have "Pot à Beurre," probably named after some geological formation. Second, on the east bank, is "C. S. Antoine," which seems to have been named by Father Membré. At this cape, the inscription says that "here begins the country of canebrakes which border the river down to the sea."[89]

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[87] BN, Mss. fr., 13365, p. 66.
[88] *Atlante Veneto,* 1: 132.
[89] BN, Mss. fr., 13365, p. 66.

Father Membré had arrived in France at the beginning of 1683, and he is said to have made a report.[90] This does not necessarily mean that he wrote it, for he may have made an oral report. We must also note that La Salle had written to Father Lefebvre, and that some of these details may have been in this letter which is no longer extant.[91] Third, south of the Wabash, we have "Cap Rouge," probably so called on account of the red clay which is abundant on these parts. The *Atlante Veneto* says: "At latitude 36°, between Cape Saint Anthony and Cape Rouge, on the east side of the river, the Mississippi receives the Wabash; near the latter, is a fort built by the Indians."[92] On the map, however, the fort is indicated below Cape Rouge.

At latitude 42°, the inscription reads: "The banks of the Mississippi are full of fruit trees, many of which are unknown to us. Among those which are known are plum-trees, peach-trees, and mulberry trees; they are found in prodigious quantity. There are also vineyards without number; the vines climbs to the top of the highest tree and are as big as a man's leg, and grapes ripen beautifully."[93]

At latitude 34° is found Fort Prud'homme, "built by M. de la Salle in 1682," near the Margot River. This last name is not found in any account of the expedition, but when descending the Mississippi in 1700, Father Gravier noted: "On the 26 [of October] we passed the Rivière à Mayot, on the east bank, called thus after an Indian of the Loup nation who was with M. de la Salle on his voyage of discovery."[94] The name "Pointe à l'Anguille" is also missing from the relations of the voyage of 1682. On the west bank of the Mississippi, there is an unnamed river, probably the Chépontia which is listed in the *Atlante Veneto* as Chepoutia.[95]

Then on the east bank comes the "Ohio or Belle Rivière, which according to the relation of the Indians has its source near Lake Frontenac." The inscription on the globe is still more specific: "The Ohio or Belle Rivière, so called because it is beautiful. No Europeans has yet descended it; they have only seen its mouth on the Mississippi, at latitude 31 degrees and 26 minutes. From the relation of Indians, it is believed that it has its source near Lake

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[90] Margry, 3: 19.
[91] La Salle to ...., [October, 1682], Margry, 2: 290.
[92] *Atlante Veneto,* 1: 132.
[93] BN, Mss. fr., 13365, p. 62.
[94] JR, 65: 112.
[95] *Atlante Veneto,* 1: 132.

Frontenac, whence one goes to this river by means of a portage."[96] Several remarks are in place here, for the Ohio did not have its mouth across from the Arkansas River. The question is: how could the mistake have been made and what is the explanation?

First, there is no mistake on Coronelli's part. He wrote that the Ohio empties into the Mississippi at latitude 31° 26'. Second, Bernou, who was supplied with information by La Salle, wrote to Renaudot exhorting him to prevail upon La Salle "to add the courses of rivers as well as the direction of mountains which he had not seen, but which he had learned from Indians or French, as the Aramoni River, the former [anceinne] Ohio, etc., marking on his map what he had seen and what he had heard."[97] For Bernou had misgivings about the courses of the Aramoni and of the Ohio, which he had presented on the map of 1682. Third, the relation officielle plainly states: "The Ohio River, which has its source in the Iroquois country, empties into the Mississippi across from the village," *i.e.,* across from the Quapaw village.[98]

We must now enquire what sources, what authorities there are for marking the Ohio at this place, five and a half degrees below its true position. It was certainly based on the information by someone who had not gone down the Mississippi, for Nicolas de la Salle had seen the Ohio and had called attention to the belief that by following it "a passage to China could be found."[99] This was said of the Wabash and referred to the belief that by following it, La Salle could find the western passage which he set about to discover in 1669. In 1684, Tonti wrote that on the left they saw "a river called OYO by the Iroquois, which comes from the country of the said Iroquois, and which must be five or six hundred leagues long."[100] This is the Wabash of Nicolas de la Salle, but by this time the river has been identified as the Ohio. It is clear, therefore, that the river must have been inserted on the map by someone who had not been down the Mississippi.

Now, in July, 1682, M. Tronson wrote to M. de Belmont as follows:

> There is something about which I would wish to be enlightened, and about which you might perhaps give me some information. They are working in this town [Paris] on globes measuring fifteen feet in diameter, which they want to present to the king. As the man [Coronelli] who is

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[96] BN, Mss. fr., 13365, p. 75.
[97] Bernou to Renaudot, February 1. 1684, BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7497: 89.
[98] MID-AMERICA, XXII (1940): 30.
[99] Margry, 1: 551.
[100] Margry, 1: 596.

> working on these globes is very exact and is unwilling to insert anything about which he is not certain, he asked me to furnish him with details about Lac St. Sacrement [Lake George], which is at the end of Lake Champlain. M. Dollier who had gone to those parts, when he acted as chaplain in the war against the Iroquois, could perhaps give some information. If you learn anything, I shall be obliged if you will let me know, and also to draw its shape and its size; that is, in the supposition that you have sufficient data to do this. There is also some trouble about inserting the Ohio River on these globes, whose course is marked on your map. It would be very pleasing to know whether there is good ground for marking it as you have. The knowledge which I have of the man working on this masterpiece and the desire I have to oblige him, made me ask you for this information . . . See what you can send us this year in the way of relations or maps to make Canada better known.[101]

M. de Belmont came to Canada in 1680, and must have made his map in 1681, for the query came from Paris in July 1682. This map, however, is no longer extant; at least I have not found any other map with the course of the Ohio marked on as on Coronelli's globe. Hence the question: Was the course of the Ohio marked on Belmont's map as it is on Coronelli's globe? It would seem so, considering the misgivings of Bernou and of Tronson. The first of these two men had not as yet identified the Wabash with the Ohio, and in the two letters of La Salle, which he had when he wrote the relation officielle, there is nothing to show that the Wabash was a tributary of the Ohio. As for Tronson, he was asking for information. We do not know what the answer of Belmont was: whether he maintained that the Ohio emptied into the Mississippi at latitude 31° 26', or whether, as in another occasion,[102] he indulged in theoretical geography. But the fact remains that the globe of Coronelli, the gores of the Florence globe, and the map of 1688, are the only cartographical documents which show the Ohio emptying into the Mississippi across from the Arkansas River.

At this point, says Coronelli, there are two—Nicolas de la Salle says three—huge islands formed by the water of the Arkansas, the Ohio and the Mississippi. This is the cartographical expression of what we read in the narratives of the expedition. On one of the islands the inscription reads: "M. de la Salle built a fort on March 14, 1682." One of the three Arkansas villages is across from the first island. On Coronelli's globe, on the Florence gores, and on the map of the *Atlante Veneto* is found the following inscription: "Kappaha an Arkansas village, of which M. de la Salle took possession in the name of the king on March 16, 1682"; *i.e.*, March 13 and 14. The other two villages are inhabited by the Arkansas and the Immaha; the only account where the Immaha appear is La Métairie's procès-verbal.[103] The Arkansas River comes from the west but is not named.

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[101] Tronson to Belmont, July 2, 1682, no. 185, printed in Margry, 2: 276 f.

[102] Tronson to Belmont, [May], 1687, no. 339.

Below, on the east bank of the river, across from the second island, are found the Tunica and the Chickasaw. The latter have "eight villages, but we are not certain of their position."[104] The Natchez and the Koroa villages are also on the east bank of the Mississippi, and in between, but on the west bank, are the villages of the Taensa; although according to the relations, the latter villages are much farther down. The Taensa "number eight villages allied to the Akarisa [Arkansas]. They are somewhat civilized and live in houses. They have a chief who is an absolute ruler, for whom they have great respect. These two nations are at war with all the others, numbering more than forty, and situated on the other side of the river. M. de la Salle arrived there on March 22, 1682."[105]

Two other inscriptions deal with the Taensa. The first says: "The crocodiles are found in the Mississippi up to here [latitude 32°]. There are numerous from the Taensa to the sea. The Indians kill them with arrows and clubs."; the second inscription has "From the Taensa to the sea, one sees Spanish and common laurels as well as a kind of palm tree. The common laurel is as fine as the highest trees."[106] Another inscription referring to the Arkansas and the Koroa is placed farther up: "Turkey wheat is cultivated by all the Indians of these parts. At the Arkansas, the stalk is seven or eight feet high and its ears are one foot long; at the Koroa, it ripens in forty or fifty days. These people gather up beans which bloom after thirty days."[107]

Three other rivers empty into the Mississippi. One, on the west side, is called "Rivière Inconnue," this is the Red River, which was christened "Fleuve Seignelay" on the return journey;[108] an inscription adds that on its banks "there are several nations whose names we do not know."[109] The other two rivers are on the east bank; one, the Huma, upon whose banks dwell the nation of the same name "who have a single village"; the third river, the "Rivière au Risque" is only mentioned in Nicolas de la Salle's relation.[110] The last two tribes are the Tansibao [Tangibao] and the Kinipissa or Oughilissa.[111] The first have "only one village which was destroyed by their enemies, it was full of corpses," when the expedition passed through it; and the second "have four villages across from one another; with one of these latter M. de la Salle fought on April 16, 1682."[112] All these details, as can be seen, are taken from the relations of the voyage of 1682.

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[103] Margry, 2: 189.
[104] BN, Mss. fr., 13365, p. 67.
[105] *Ibid.*, p. 65.
[106] *Ibid.*, p. 61.
[107] *Ibid.*, p. 62.
[108] Margry, 1: 567.
[109] BN, Mss. fr., 13365, p. 64.

> Finally, the Colbert River having reached latitude 28° divides itself into two branches and enters into the Gulf of Mexico at latitude 26° and longitude 274°. On April 7, 1682, M. de la Salle was the first European to reach the Gulf of Mexico from these parts, with Father Zénobe, a Recollect missionary. The latter planted a cross there on April 9, and La Salle affixed the arms of the Most Christian King, in whose name he took possession of this vast country, which he called Louisiana. Geographers who have known this river, have omitted its course on their maps, or have quite erroneously given it the name of Rio Escondido. We are the first to bring this fact to light.[113]

In the above quotation, there are several points which need comment: 1) the "fork" of the Mississippi; 2) the latitude of the river as given by Coronelli; 3) and La Salle being the first to reach the Gulf of Mexico from these parts.

That the travelers thought that the Mississippi divided itself into two branches may be taken for granted. In 1684, Tonti wrote that near the village of the Huma and on the west side of the Mississippi there was "a huge river [the Red], and on the same side a channel leading to the sea, which channel is fifty leagues away from the sea."[114] On La Salle's map of 1684, a little below the Red River there is an arm of the Mississippi which stops before reaching the sea.

Coronelli gives the latitude as 26 degrees, and on his map the lower arm of the river reaches slightly above latitude 25°, while the upper arm is on the twenty-seventh parallel. In his letter of

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[110] Margry, 1: 564.

[111] In the relations this name is spelled Chigilousa.

[112] BN, Mss. fr., 13365, p. 64.

[113] *Atlante Veneto,* 1: 132. The inscription on the 1683 globe reads as follows: "L'Embouchure du Fleuve Mississippi, que M^{r} de la Salle a décendu le premier jusqu' à la Mer, ou il arriva le 7^{e} avril 1682. avec le Pere Zenobe Recolet Missionnaire qui y planta la Croix le 9^{e} du dit mois, après que le dit M. Dela Salle y eut arboré les armes de S. Majesté. cest endroit est marqué dans les Cartes du nom de Rio escondido." BN, Mss. fr., 13365: p. 63 f.

[114] Margry, 1: 604.

1682, Tonti said that they went below latitude 29°,[115] and as we have seen, Bernou wrote that the Mississippi emptied "into the Gulf of Mexico, beyond the Baye du St. Esprit, between latitude 27° and 28°, where some maps place the Rio de la Madalena and others the Rio Escondido."[116] La Salle, as Tonti said in 1682, had believed that he was in the Rio Escondido; this was logical, for he was looking for the Chucagoa of De Soto. La Salle's belief, however, was not shared by Coronelli.

Coronelli's remark that La Salle was the first European to reach the Gulf of Mexico from these parts is also a mistake. The first European who reached the Gulf by the way La Salle went down was Luis de Moscoso, the leader of the remnants of De Soto's army. But La Salle, because he was convinced that he was in the Rio Escondido, could not help thinking that no one before him had ever descended it.

JEAN DELANGLEZ, S.J.

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[115] Tonti to …………, July 22, 1682, Habig, 229.

[116] MID-AMERICA, XXII (1940): 33.

Book Reviews

Austria from Hapsburg to Hitler. By Charles A. Gulick. University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1948. Two volumes. Pp. xx, 1906.

The Hapsburg dominions had for a long stretch of years been the epicenter of intense discontent, especially so during the century since 1848. This discontent was not only nationalistic and political, but more probably economic. Little wonder that the muddled conditions during these latter years brought to the old empire the nickname of "the Ramshackle Empire." The climax of all ills came in the last months of 1918, for, at the close of World War I Austria found herself stripped of all dependencies, standing like a gaunt rock, landlocked, and surrounded by hostile neighbors. All old grievances asserted themselves in defeated Austria, openly now, with more or less violence. Thus affairs continued in Austria with riots and revolts of varying seriousness until the occupation by Hitler on the eve of World War II. The story of these twenty years is unfolded in the volumes under review.

Charles A. Gulick presents us with a massive work. Almost every page is diligently footnoted. Surely, no one can quarrel with the sources offered, but one wonders whether those for all sides were really tapped. There seems to be a one-sidedness in the narrative which favors the left, though not exactly the extreme left, while the right receives shabby treatment. Certainly, the position of the Vatican in several of the issues and the correct light of Catholic influence and Caholic-mindedness of the average Austrian are not convincingly portrayed. All good programs toward the common welfare would seem to have been the work of the Socialists, while most of the evils and obstructionist tactics are laid at the door of the so-called Clerical Fascists. Catholic leaders, Seipel, Dolfuss, Schuschnigg, and others stand condemned as obstructionists of democracy. This attitude toward the rightist cause will come as a positive challenge to many readers, for rightists are represented by their opponents as traitors to the ideals of democracy, whatever the opponents might mean by the word.

This slogan of democracy is used as a yardstick for the measure of progress in every point of the discussion; the much abused and rarely defined word forms the basis of all criticism. Critics of the old and new order are prone to forget that the European is not a democrat by rearing. He is by conviction a monarchist. Any non-monarchist styles himself or is dubbed a radical. The effort on the part of the politicos to impose a new political ideal on a people who for more than a millenium have fashioned their political thoughts in the mould of monarchy leads to an overtaxing of popular intelligence and emotion. Dr. Gulick might well have introduced this force and thus have indicated a more sympathetic understanding of the tangled question. Justification for the fears of the rightist leaders about the brand of socialistic democracy that was peddled in those twenty years, is amply apparent in the Europe and America of today. One may well contend that for the European mentality the old traditions have more on the credit side than the new theories.

A particular instance of how rightist leaders may be placed in an unfair light appears in volume I, p. 27. The author builds up the expectation of the reader regarding the Catholic leaders' response to the papal injunction to form workingmen's societies. Rather than thrashing out the matter he then quotes from the reminiscences of a Jesuit priest (enough to bring up anti-Semitism) and in a few general lines dispatches the effort as a dismal failure. Elsewhere he several times uses the term Jesuitical, spelled with a capital, in a distinctly contemptuous connotation. Thus, an ancient bias again appears.

There is an astounding amount of research work in these two volumes. Very much of it will indeed be of value to economists. But unfortunately, as one might expect in such proximity to events narrated, the interpretation is short of the whole truth. A rounded and more objective understanding of the convictions and motives of the rightist leaders would have made this work a brilliant addition to knowledge of Austria in particular and the real elements of social reconstruction throughout Europe.

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Compendio y Descripción de las Indias Occidentales. Por Antonio Vásquez de Espinosa. Transcrito del manuscrito original por Charles Upson Clark. Volume 108, Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, Smithsonian Institute, Washington, 1948. Pp. xii, 801.

In Vásquez's *Compendio* Charles Upson Clark has given us a small encyclopedia of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century Spanish America. He had already published his English translation of this in 1942 as Volume 102 of the Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections. It is necessary for a better understanding of the importance of the work of Vásquez to refer to both the English and Spanish publications, whose preface and prologue tell the story of the writer and his manuscript.

Clark came across the manuscript of the *Compendio* in 1930 while he was making an inventory of the Berberini Collection in the Vatican Library. He saw its value as a detailed itinerary written in 1628 or 1629. When Dr. Ernst Schäfer, the learned historian of the Council of the Indias, studied the transcribed manuscript, he identified it as the *Compendio* of Father Vásquez. Fray Antonio Vásquez de Espinosa was born in Jerez de la Frontera in the last third of the sixteenth century. He entered the Order of Discalced Carmelites and died in Seville in 1630. Though a distinguished theologian he volunteered as a missionary in the New World. He travelled, according to his own account, for some ten years in the kingdoms of Peru and Mexico, returning to Spain in 1622. He is the author of five books, according to Espasa.

The first publication of any part of the text was the chapters on the customs of the Arawak and Carib Indians, with a Dutch translation by C. H. De Goeje, in "De West-Indische Gids," in 1931. In 1943 on the occasion of the Fourth Centenary of the Founding of Guatemala, the government of Guatemala published in facsimile the description of Central

America. Clark tells us that in 1944 Father Mariano Cuevas, the Mexican historian, edited the portion of the *Compendio* which deals with Mexico. Interest in Vásquez has grown. "The greatest interest aroused by the resurrection of Vásquez has been among the anthropologists . . . Still more important are the data which he gives on the little-known Charruas, and Guaicuru Indians."

Vásquez's chief purpose was to present a stimulating description of the New World provinces, not forgetting the entertainment of the reader. His contributions to Spanish-American history are notable. He had, as Clark mentions, "a decided scientific and practical bent, as is shown by his elaborate descriptions of mining processes and of the causes of volcanic eruptions, . . . accounts of animals and plants, . . . properties of quinine, . . . trees and fruits." Vásquez enriched the Spanish-American vocabulary considerably, and Clark promises to publish his tabulation of over 200 words. "I am not sure however but that Vásquez' greatest contribution lies neither in geography, botany, nor anthropology, but in the field of Spanish colonial and ecclesiastical administration. Here his picture is so complete that the book will be required reading for any investigator into Spanish American history." (vii-ix).

Of the two editions of the work the Spanish "transcript" will prove of greater value to the accurate historian. The English edition betrays an occasional inaccuracy with respect to Spanish idiom. Thus, the Spanish future of possibility is repeatedly translated as though it were a true future. In the second paragraph, "Avrá en aquellas islas . . . mas de 18,000 Indios," becomes "There will be on those islands . . . more than 18,000 Indians," instead of "There are possibly more than, etc." Such, however, are of relatively little importance in so extensive a work.

An excellent index in both editions helps the reader tread his way through the maze of variant spellings and acts as a reliable guide through the vast mine of material; it explains important technical terms, gives more readily understood equivalents, and serves as a commentary on difficult terms. It does not seem to recognize that Tepoztlán and Tepozotlán are two different Mexican towns, and it offers some rather puzzling examples of accentuation. But students of New World history will long be deeply indebted to Charles Upson Clark for translating and publishing this *Compendio*.

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Notes and Comments

Japan's Influence on American Naval Power 1897–1917, by Outten Jones Clinard, published by the University of California Press in 1947, is Volume 36 of the University of California Publications in History. It is the study of the evolution of the official United States policy in the Pacific area in the light of the rise of Japan, and it does not concern itself much with the technical and physical aspects of our navy. While the main theme revolves around the Japanese expansion the parts played by Germany, England, France, and California in forcing official action are well brought out. Mr. Clinard interests himself in the question of the initiation of legislation regarding the size of the navy, its purpose of protection of shipping or national defense or threat against aggression, and in the more fundamental question of the responsibility of Congress, the executive, and the people, in the framing of the naval policy.

The book is meaty, yet written in an interesting style. The list of official documents alone requires fifteen pages of the thirty-eight page bibliography. The chapters are seven. I. Imperial America is a survey of the motives of the United States expansion into the Pacific; it indicates the waverings, fears, wants, doubts, and lack of logic of our people and our administrations when we were veering toward the world-wide philosophy of "the end justifies the means." We violated the neutrality of the Hawaiian Republic as a military expedient, and then offered the illogical argument that we should annex Hawaii lest we be accused of violating its neutrality; the real reason for annexation finally became fear that Japan, our "probable enemy," would take the Hawaiians. Then, we annexed the Philippines in lieu of just a base on Luzon chiefly because not Britain nor Japan but Germany seemed the "probable enemy." Having a gateway to the China trade, we had to keep the door open, build the Panama Canal, and think about a fleet. In Chapter II, The Naval Policy in Transition, Mr. Clinard shows how in 1890 we needed a non-aggressive fleet to protect our shipping, how in 1900 we had to have a fleet equal to or superior to any "probable enemy," namely Germany, how after 1904 we had to build against the Japanese threat to the Californians, and how by 1909 the Joint Army and Navy Board recommended the abandonment of the idea of fortifying the Philippines and the adoption of the plan to build a large fleet for defense and to concentrate it at Pearl Harbor, a defendable port.

The Chapters III to VII are solid studies proving the great influence of Japan in our ultimate decision in 1916 to construct a navy as a force. The chapter titles are only general indications of the contents: Japan, the Open Door, and the Anglo-Japanese Alliance; Japan, Manchuria and California; Japan and the World War; Japan, the Probable Enemy. There is very much history and very much research wrapped up in this good volume.

* * * *

The Church and Freemasonry in Brazil, 1872–1875, A Study in Regalism, by Sister Mary Crescentia Thornton, a doctoral dissertation, has been published (1948) by The Catholic University of America Press, Washington, D. C. This is an analysis of the famous Religious Question that reached a climax during the reign of Dom Pedro II. The author concludes that the conflict between the Episcopacy of Brazil and the Masonic lodges was the culmination of a long series of disputes between the temporal and spiritual authorities occasioned by the lack of freedom of the Church. Freemasonry, in her interpretation, was a contributive factor to the conflict rather than the cause of the conflict, and it was "in large measure, the tool of regalistic statesmen." The conflict ending in the imprisonment of the bishops had much to do with the undermining of the Empire of Brazil and bringing about its downfall in 1889.

In the first chapter the author explains the European background of the hostilities in Brazil over Freemasonry, liberalism, secularism, regalism, and clericalism. Chapter II deals with the growth of liberalism and Freemasonry in Brazil, especially of the attraction of three bishops toward the lodges. Chapter III is a survey of the relations between the Church and the State from the time of Brazil's emancipation in 1822 to 1872, with considerable stress on the nationalist and liberal program of Father Feijó. Chapters IV, V, VI take up the crucial fight between the political parties over the incident of trial and imprisonment of the bishops, which began in earnest when freemasons were debarred from the Religious Lay Brotherhoods. The last two chapters give the repercussions of the imprisonment and the defeat of the government. All in all, this good book reveals that religious practice and religious doctrine had very little place in the whole dispute and that *politicos* were making pawns of the lodges, the episcopacy, the papacy, and the emperor in order to promote or to insure their positions in the government. Sister Mary Crescentia has used her sources well.

Those interested in Capital and Labor questions, in social justice, and the social order will do well to have at hand a very useful commentary recently published by the Radio Replies Press of St. Paul, Minnesota: *Forty Years After: Pius XI and the Social Order,* by Raymond J. Miller, C.Ss.R. Father Miller has spent fifteen years gathering materials on official papal pronouncements concerning capital and labor between the years 1891 when Leo XIII issued the Encyclical On the Condition of Workers, and 1931 when Pius XI wrote On the Social Order, that is, according to the Latin titles of the Encyclicals, from the *Rerum Novarum,* to the *Quadragesimo Anno.* Father Miller gives the latter document in English, breaking it up paragraph by paragraph for commentaries. The commentaries actually cover all of the social progress, disputes, legislation, organizations, movements, and writings about social conditions even to the most recent times, in the light of the principles of justice stated in the papal letters. The book of 328 pages has a helpful outline and index. Considering the very reasonable price any student may add it to his reference shelf.

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The University of California Press has reprinted *Kino's Historical Memoir of Primería Alta*, translated and edited by Herbert Eugene Bolton in 1919, combining the two volumes in one. Librarians and collectors of Western Americana and students will be happy to see this notable work available once more at a reasonable cost.

* * * *

A definitive bibliography of American autobiographies is being compiled jointly by Mr. Daniel C. Haskell of the New York Public Library and Mr. Louis Kaplan of the University of Wisconsin Library.

* * * *

The latest of the *Occasional Publications* of the Illinois State Historical Society is *The Diary of James T. Ayers, Civil War Recruiter,* edited with an introduction by John Hope Franklin. In the Foreword Jay Monaghan, General Editor of the *Publications,* explains how the name of the series of fifty books published since 1899 by the Society has changed from *Transactions* to *Papers* to *Occasional Publications.* The *Diary* is that of a lay evangelist, a crusader against slavery, who enlisted in the Illinois Infantry in

1862 at the age of fifty-seven, and at his post in Alabama was made recruiting officer. His duties were to enlist and organize Negro troops in Tennessee and Alabama. His methods and the trials attending his efforts are told in the worst spelling that has been printed within our memory. There are interesting pages, and sad pages, especially the record of Ayers' feelings of satisfaction about Sherman's march. The book is attractively bound and printed.

* * * *

Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society for the meetings in Boston in April and October, 1945, have been published as Part 1 and Part 2 of Volume 45. In the first part Mary Robinson Reynolds recounts her "Recollections of Sixty Years of Service in the American Antiquarian Society" in an interesting manner, and Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., has an article, "Casting the National Horoscope." But the larger portion of the 465 pages of text is given to the printing of "New Letters of Abigail Adams, 1788-1801," as edited by Stewart Mitchell. The Society purchased 250 letters of the wife of the second President of the United States in 1942. From these 142 were selected for publication. They offer many sidelights on people and customs of the dawning days of our country, and may justly be classified as a worthwhile contribution.

* * * *

Pacific Northwest Quarterly of July, 1947, has under research suggestions a list of "Federal Government Maps Relating to Pacific Northwest History," calendared by Charlotte H. Odgers. The maps have been photostated from originals in four federal administration offices for the use of students of the State of Washington and are materials available for research on "the distribution of Indian tribes and reservations, the reconnaisance work done by the United States Army, the location of military roads and railway land grants, the progress of public land surveys, and the changing network of postal routes." The maps cover Alaska, Idaho, Oregon, and Washington. The October number carries "Pere Joset's Account of the Indian War of 1858," by Robert I. Burns, S.J., a carefully edited document, preceded by an introduction and followed by a calendar of the Joset Papers. In his eye-witness account of the war against the Indians of the Northwest the Jesuit missionary traces the course of events from the Spokane council of 1856 through the Steptoe disaster and on to his own efforts as a peacemaker. In editing the document Father Burns indicates numerous unused manuscript collections pertaining to pioneer history in the Northwest.

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Jot down for reference under historical method "Lord Acton's Approach to History," by John Hazard Wildman, which appeared in *The South Atlantic Quarterly* of April, 1948. It will prove helpful in preparing a lecture on approaches to history, philosophy of history, and moral and ethical codes of historians . . . The entire text of ninety pages of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* for January, 1948, is given over to a study of "The Negro in Iowa," by Leola Nelson Bergmann . . . *The William and Mary Quarterly* published in its April, 1948, number *The Candidates; or, The Humors of a Virginia Election,* a comedy in three acts by Robert Munford. This slapstick farce of 1770 is introduced by Jay B. Hubbell and Douglas Adair.

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MID-AMERICA

VOLUME XXX

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